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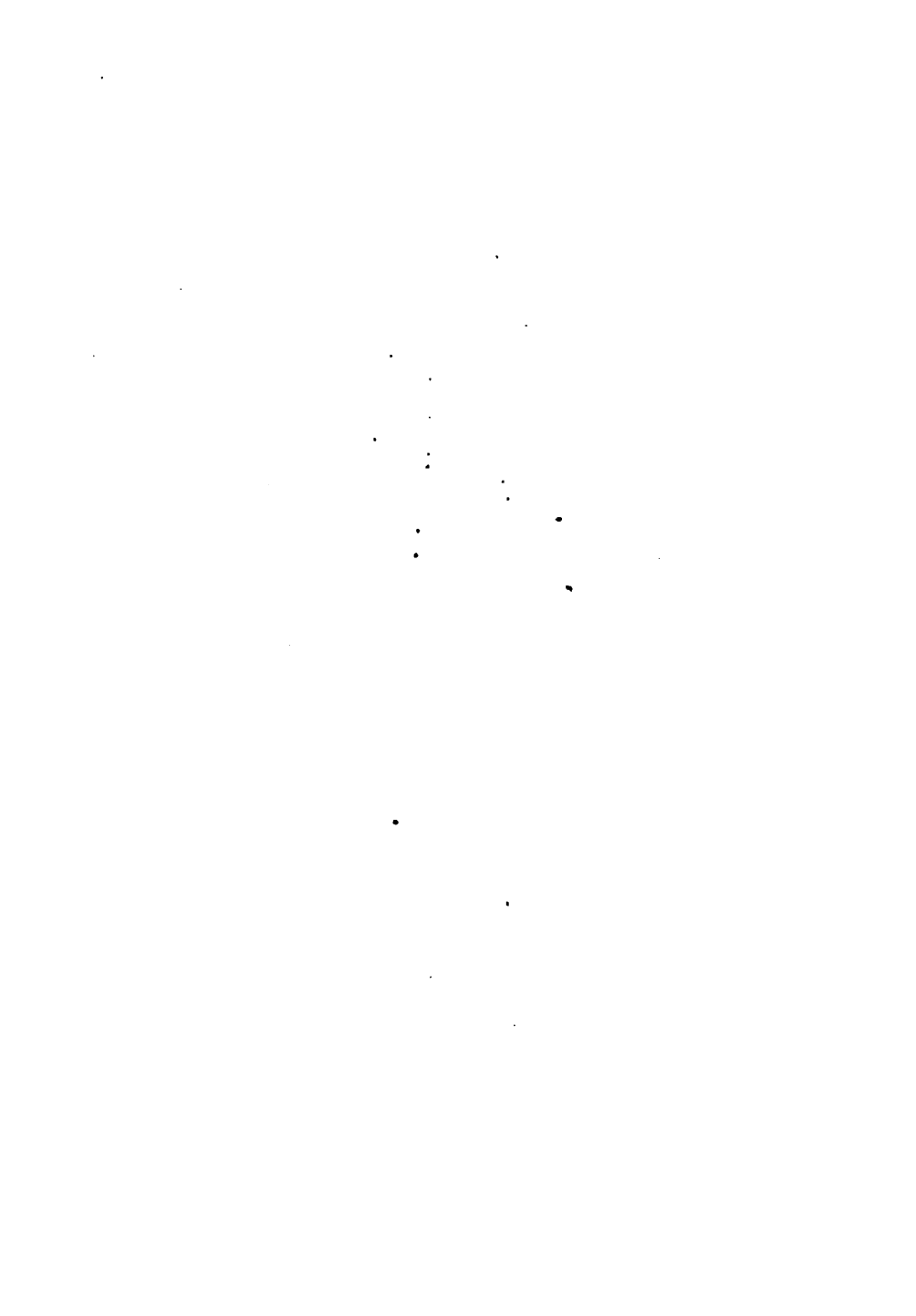
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PRICE SIXPENCE

ROBERT EMMET:

HIS BIRTH-PLACE AND BURIAL.

BY



BY

DAVID A. QUAIL, Solicitor.

DUBLIN, JAMES DUFFY AND CO., Ltd.,
15 Wellington Quay.

1892.

AN IRISH PATRIOT'S GRAVE.

EMMET'S BONES DISINTERRED.

Our Dublin Correspondent telegraphs: An investigation has been made in St. Michan's Churchyard, Dublin, for the purpose of determining whether the body of Robert Emmet, the Irish patriot who was executed for his share in the rebellion of '98, was buried there. The examination was made at the instigation of Dr. Robert Addis Emmet, of New York, and his son. Doubt has always been thrown on the statement that the body lay in the disputed grave. After the railings around the grave and the stone slab which covered it had been removed, the work of excavation was proceeded with with extreme caution.

At length, at the depth of about 6ft, the diggers came upon human remains. The earth was removed, and the skeleton of a fully-grown man of good size was laid bare., It was lying with the feet to the east and the head to the west. A curious circumstance, to which very great significance attaches, is that the head, instead of lying prone and attached to the trunk in the ordinary way, was in an upright position. When it is remembered that Emmet was beheaded, the fact of the skull being found in this position strengthens the theory that the grave in St. Michan's is really the burial-place of the revolutionary leader, and that the bones disinterred are his. Some pieces of metal which were taken to be the mountings of a coffin were also found in the grave.

After the skeleton had been photographed and examined by experts it was replaced in the grave, which was filled in, the slab covering it being replaced. A certified statement in full of the true facts will later be made public, with the sanction of the representatives of the family. Meantime, the identification is regarded as open to some doubt, as it is rumoured that the bones were those of a man 6ft in height, and Emmet was but 5ft 7in.

Day July 1890

Day 6.03

MEN AND WOMEN.

| | | | | | | |
|-----|-------|-----|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| 840 | 2,308 | 396 | 863 | 365 | 1,614 | 3,922 |
| 283 | 418 | 42 | 69 | 266 | 377 | 796 |
| 270 | 662 | 190 | 280 | 98 | 568 | 1,130 |
| 158 | 405 | 73 | 154 | 65 | 282 | 687 |
| 34 | 37 | 16 | 41 | 64 | 121 | 168 |
| 237 | 371 | 72 | 113 | 92 | 277 | 648 |
| 21 | 56 | 15 | 31 | 14 | 60 | 116 |
| 27 | 64 | 17 | 19 | 20 | 56 | 110 |
| 47 | 54 | 16 | 35 | 28 | 80 | 134 |
| 11 | 32 | 14 | 28 | 23 | 65 | 97 |
| 35 | 155 | 51 | 63 | 36 | 150 | 305 |
| 43 | 82 | 20 | 68 | 65 | 153 | 235 |
| 75 | 314 | 24 | 70 | 19 | 113 | 427 |
| 77 | 82 | 16 | 36 | 40 | 92 | 174 |
| 258 | 4,931 | 962 | 1,861 | 1,185 | 4,008 | 8,939 |

NATIONAL TOTALS.

| | | | | | | |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|-----|
| 77 | 82 | 16 | 36 | 40 | 92 | 174 |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|-----|

SERVICES.

| | | | | | | |
|----|-----|----|----|----|-----|-----|
| 75 | 314 | 24 | 70 | 19 | 113 | 427 |
|----|-----|----|----|----|-----|-----|

PROTESTANT CHURCH.

| | | | | | | |
|----|----|----|----|----|-----|-----|
| 43 | 82 | 20 | 68 | 65 | 153 | 235 |
|----|----|----|----|----|-----|-----|

NAVY AND ARMY.

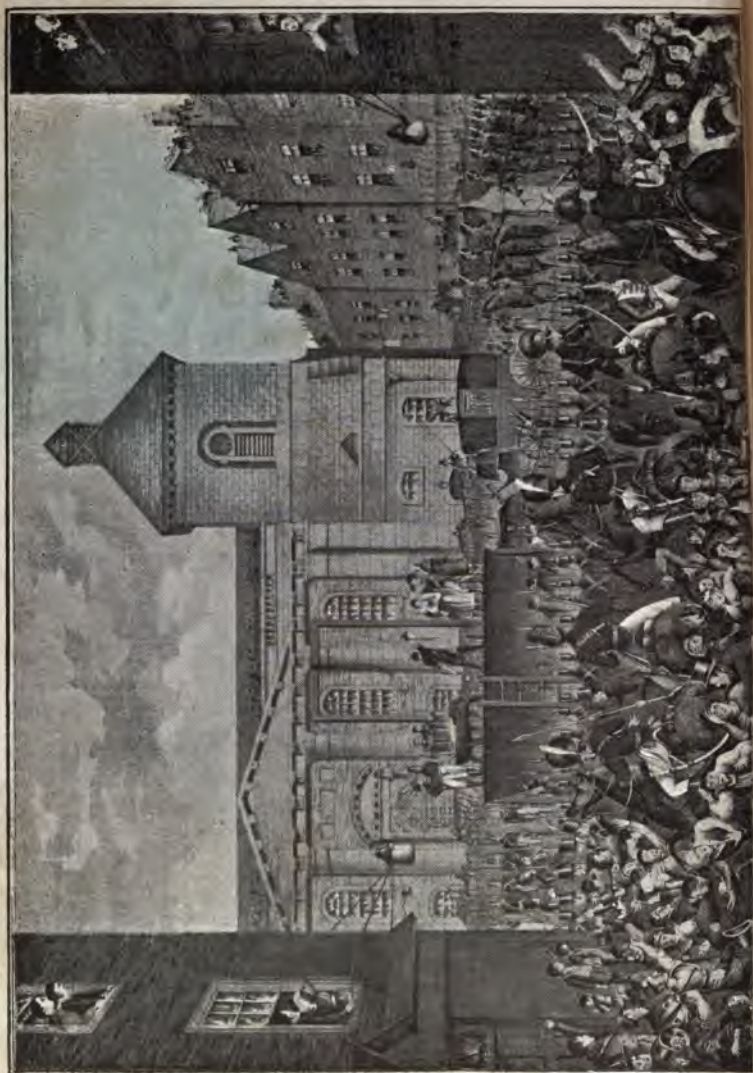
| | | | | | | |
|----|-----|----|----|----|-----|-----|
| 35 | 155 | 51 | 63 | 36 | 150 | 305 |
| 14 | 68 | 24 | 29 | 22 | 75 | 143 |
| 20 | 70 | 25 | 28 | 13 | 65 | 136 |
| 1 | 17 | 2 | 6 | 1 | 9 | 26 |

CHILDREN.

| | | | | | | |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| 11 | 32 | 14 | 28 | 23 | 65 | 97 |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|

FRIENDS.

| | | | | | | |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|-----|
| 47 | 54 | 16 | 36 | 28 | 80 | 124 |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|-----|



EXECUTION OF ROBERT EMMET.

Robert Emmet:


HIS BIRTH-PLACE AND BURIAL.

BY

DAVID A. QUAID, SOLICITOR.

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DUBLIN:
JAMES DUFFY AND CO., LTD.,
15 WELLINGTON QUAY.
1902.



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THIS LITTLE BOOK

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BY THE AUTHOR

To the Memory of Ireland's Patriots

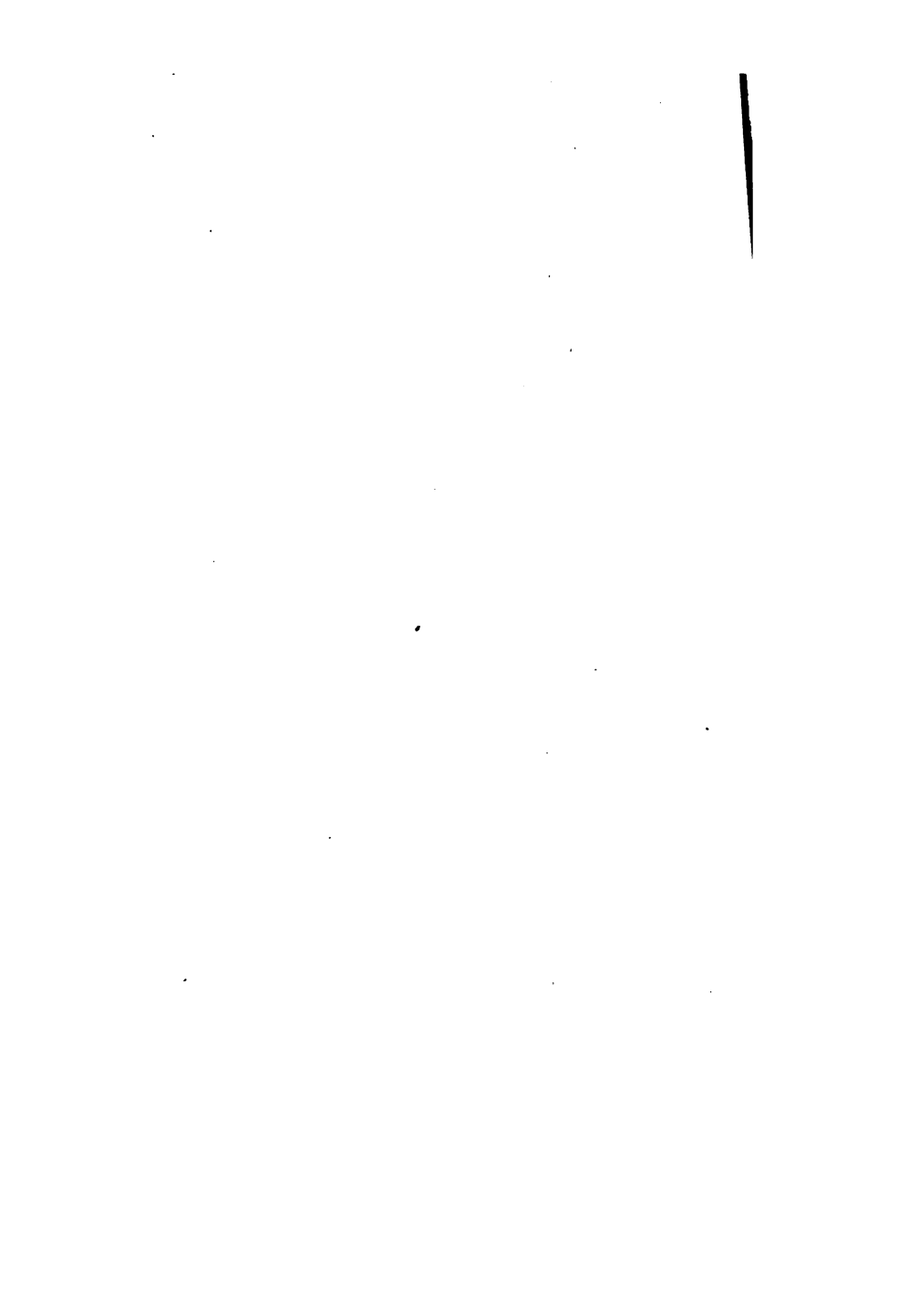
WHO FELL ON THE SCAFFOLD AND BATTLEFIELD IN DEFENCE OF

THE IMPERISHABLE PRINCIPLES OF IRISH NATIONALITY ;

OR WHO DIED IN EXILE OR AT HOME,

AWAITING THE DAY OF THEIR

COUNTRY'S EMANCIPATION.



PREFACE.

SOMETIME since after reading for a second time Dr. R. R. Madden's "Memoir of Robert Emmet," I resolved to place before Irishmen at home and abroad some entirely new facts and circumstances relating to the birth-place and burial of Emmet.

My researches were made with a twofold object—first, to ascertain beyond all doubt or question where Robert Emmet was born, and, if possible, to exactly locate the house; and next, to throw further light upon the much-disputed question as to the actual place of his interment. Most of the particulars I now make known have not, I think, previously transpired. The task was undertaken in the hope of adding something to the store of National knowledge concerning the soul-stirring personality of Emmet, whose memory shall never die as long as Irishmen continue to think out the problem of accomplishing their country's freedom, following as the lode-star of her destiny the only true ideal by which he of whom I write was inspired to make the effort to break her chains.

DAVID A. QU Aid.

OPINIONS.

“It may be taken as absolutely certain that Emmet first saw the light on March 4th, 1778, at 110 St. Stephen’s Green, Dublin (the house being now known as No. 124 and 125 Stephen’s Green, West), and not, as frequently asserted, in Molesworth Street.”—*Freeman’s Journal*.

“Mr. Quaid has devoted much of his time to a study of the circumstances of Emmet’s birth and death, and his researches have conclusively established the fact that Robert Emmet was born in the house now numbered 124 and 125 Stephen’s Green, and not in Molesworth Street, as it was hitherto erroneously supposed.”—*United Irishman*.

“Your reasoning on the subject is convincing, and indeed conclusive.”—SIR CHARLES CAMERON, *Historian of the Royal College of Surgeons*.

Robert Emmet:

HIS BIRTH-PLACE AND BURIAL.

"Perhaps in this neglected spot is laid
Some heart once pregnant with celestial fire."

—GRAY.

CHAPTER I.

THE immortal Robert Emmet was *not* born in Molesworth Street as generally supposed. On the contrary, I intend to make it clear that he was born in the house in St. Stephen's Green, West, formerly known as No. 109, and later as No. 110 Stephen's Green, and now consisting of two houses, Nos. 124 and 125 Stephen's Green, West, on the corner at the Grafton Street side of Glover's Alley. Molesworth Street, where his father, Dr. Robert Emmet, lived from about 1770 to 1776, was then and still is in the parish of St. Anne. We find, however, that Dr. Emmet, State Physician, had, according to the Dublin Almanack Directory for 1777, removed to Stephen's Green, W., in the Parish of St. Peter, that year, and not, as Dr. Madden states, in 1779. Dr. Emmet is described in the List of Physicians as follows: "Emmet (Rob.), State Physician, 109 Stephen's Green," and on another page amongst the "Licentiates

5

A

in Physics," his name and address appear as "Robert Emmet, Stephen's Green, West." It is therefore certain that Dr. Emmet removed from Molesworth Street in 1776, or his name would hardly have appeared in the 1777 Directory, and further that his house was on the west side of Stephen's Green. In the course of my inquiries I visited St. Peter's Church, Aungier Street, and was enabled to search the parochial records. The following historic entry appears in the Register of Christenings in the handwriting of the Rev. Edward Bayly :—"10th March, 1778, Robert, son of Robert and Elizh. Emmet." In the face of this record it cannot be contended that Robert Emmet was born in Molesworth Street, in St. Anne's Parish, as the entry clearly demonstrates that he was baptized in St. Peter's Church, because he was born in the parish of which his father was a parishioner while living in Stephen's Green, West.

The child, who was destined to achieve fame in all ages amongst his countrymen, was then only six days old. The 10th of March fell on Tuesday. Mrs. Emmet could not have been in the Church, but no doubt his father and elder brothers, Christopher Temple Emmet and Thomas Addis Emmet, were there. The latter is stated in a note to Tone's Autobiography to have been born in Cork in 1764, so at Emmet's christening his brother, Thomas Addis, was only fourteen years old. Christopher Temple Emmet, the eldest brother, was admitted to the Bar in 1781, when he must have been at least twenty-one years of age, and therefore, at his brother Robert's birth he was about eighteen. He became a distinguished member

of the Irish Bar. From 1782 to 1785 his address was his father's house in Stephen's Green, West. He married in September, 1784, as appears by the *Gentleman's and London Magazine* of that year. The announcement is "Christopher Temple Emmet, Barrister-at-Law, to Miss Temple, both of Stephen's Green." From 1786 to 1788, he lived in 29 York Street, and I believe the numbering of the houses in that Street remains unchanged. His death was announced in the *Hibernian Magazine* for 1788 thus:—"In York Street, Temple Emmet, Esq., one of His Majesty's Counsel at Law." It was only a short time before that he had been called to the Inner Bar on becoming a K.C. The Parochial Registry of St. Peter's Church shows that his interment took place there, the entry being—"March 9th, 1788, Temple Emmet, York Street." There was only one surviving child of the marriage, Miss Catherine Emmet, of whom more hereafter. Christopher Temple Emmet had very early given indication of great natural talents. He had obtained several books and premiums while he was at College. Lord Norbury, in passing the sentence of British law upon Robert Emmet in 1803, referred to Christopher Temple Emmet's distinguished career with characteristic cruelty for the purpose of harrowing the feelings of the illustrious prisoner, who, he said, had been set a distinguished example by his brother. I refer rather fully to Christopher Temple Emmet, because I think not much is known about him.

As to Thomas Addis Emmet, he first became a physician, but on the death of his brother, C. T.

Emmet, he abandoned the Profession of **Medicine**, and was called to the Irish Bar, at which he practised with much success (going on the Munster Circuit during the Assizes) until his expatriation for ever from his native land.

I wish to dispose once and for ever of the fiction that Dr. Robert Emmet or any members of his family were interred in St. Anne's Churchyard, Dawson Street, or in St. Michan's Churchyard, Church Street. I presume the general belief that Dr. Emmet and his wife were interred in St. Anne's received credit from an inaccurate statement made in Kinsella's "Memoir of Robert Emmet," which is quoted by Dr. Madden, to the effect that Emmet's remains "were brought to St. Anne's Churchyard, and buried in the same grave with 'his parents.'" My first proof of the inaccuracy of Kinsella's statement is to give the following entry in the Parochial Register of the interment of Dr. Emmet *in St. Peter's Churchyard*, Aungier Street:—"December 12th, 1802, Dr. Robert Emmet, Miltown." Mrs. Emmet, whose letters to her son, T. A. Emmet, breathe a fervent religious spirit indicating that her children received much of their moral inspiration from her, rests with her husband and eldest son, C. T. Emmet, in St. Peter's. The following entry appears in the Parochial Register:—"September 11th, 1803, Emilia (*sic*) Emmet, Donnybrook." Her death took place eleven days previous to her illustrious son, Robert, becoming a victim of British law. It would be impossible for us to realize the agonized apprehensions of this noble woman for the fate of her much-loved youngest

child, while she herself was drifting across the mysterious bounds of life into the Great Unknown. It is curious that Dr. Madden, who had ample opportunity of knowing that St. Peter's Churchyard was the place of interment of the Emmet family, did not think Robert Emmet was interred there. In this connection I will, later on, after dealing with the question of Emmet's birth-place, discuss fully the claims of St. Peter's Churchyard to be the place of his interment. There are, in my opinion, undoubtedly, grounds for suggesting it. The site of the grave of Dr. Emmet, and of his wife and son, C. T. Emmet, is between the solitary shrub just within the palings fronting St. Peter's Church, Aungier Street, and the garden seat on the left-hand side. St. Peter's Church was re-built about 1867, being re-opened on 1st September, 1867. In the course of the building alterations, vast quantities of bones were removed to Mount Jerome, mostly from the back of the Church, but I do not think the relics of Dr. Emmet and his wife and son were disturbed. No trace of a head-stone, so far as I can ascertain, can be found.

CHAPTER II.

I SHALL now endeavour to prove beyond all doubt that numbers 124 and 125 Stephen's Green, West, at the corner of Glover's Alley, on the King Street or Grafton Street side, are, together, the house in which Robert Emmet was born on Ash Wednesday, 4th March, 1778. To accomplish this, I must first show the inaccuracy of a foot-note in Dr. Madden's "Life and Times of Robert Emmet, Esq.," in which he states, "in 1771 Dr. Emmet commenced practising in Molesworth Street, Dublin. In 1779, he moved to Stephen's Green, the site of the house now numbered 120." It is perfectly clear that Dr. Madden unwittingly fell into an error in supposing that Dr. Emmet left Molesworth Street to reside in Stephen's Green, West, in 1779, instead of, as was the case, in 1776, or early in 1777. The Dublin Directory for 1777, and the entry of his son Robert's Baptism, on 10th March, 1778, in St. Peter's Church, conclusively show that Dr. Emmet's residence was Stephen's Green, West, *for at least two years earlier than the year mentioned by Dr. Madden.*

I must next show that Dr. Madden's foot-note is also inaccurate in stating that the house No. 120 Stephen's Green (now in the occupation of Dr. Hamilton), was the site of Dr. Emmet's residence. No. 120 is at the corner of Proud's Lane, on the

Harcourt Street side. Proud's Lane is stated in Mecready's "Dublin Street Names" to have borne that name since 1778, and must not be confounded with Glover's Alley, at the corner of which, on the King Street or Grafton Street side, Dr. Emmet's house was situated.

The facts disclosed by the deeds hereafter referred to will sufficiently demonstrate the error into which Dr. Madden fell, in regarding the site of 120 Stephen's Green, as being Dr. Emmet's residence.

On the 10th of May, 1796, a conveyance was made by Dr. Emmet to his son, Thomas Addis Emmet. The latter thereby undertook to pay his father £1000. The premises conveyed were: "The large brick house situate on the West side of St. Stephen's Green, formerly in the possession of Jane Pierce, and in the possession of Garrett, Earl of Mornington, afterwards in the possession of Henry, Lord Brabazon, and in the possession of John Ridge, *and then lately in the possession of the said Robert Emmet*, together with the ground, garden, and offices behind the same, and also the houses in Gregory's Lane, *at the end of said garden*, wherein Sir Ralph Freke formerly dwelt, formerly in the possession of Elizabeth Bligh, with the back-side garden and appurtenances thereunto belonging, and also the coach-house and two stables in Gregory's Lane, situate in the Parish of St. Peter, and County of the City of Dublin."

Where was Gregory's Lane? If I show that Gregory's Lane and Glover's Alley are one and the same, my contention that Dr. Emmet's house was at the corner of Glover's Alley is well-nigh fully

established. I have then only to prove at which corner the house was situate.

Mecready's "Dublin Street Names" states that Glover's Alley (which runs from Stephen's Green, West, to Lower Mercer Street, was known by that name so far back as 1766. We have, however, the positive confirmatory proof from the description in subsequent title-deeds to Dr. Emmet's house, that Glover's Alley was formerly known as Gregory's Lane. The first glimmer of proof appears in a Deed of Surrender, dated 8th April, 1802, from one Richard Green to Thomas Addis Emmet, the latter being then entitled under the conveyance from his father. This Deed surrenders a lease of 25th August, 1799, which had been made by Mr. Emmet to Mr. Green, of two houses at the rere of Dr. Emmet's house. At this time (1802, these two houses undoubtedly represented "the houses in Gregory's Lane, at the end of said garden, wherein Sir Ralph Freke formerly dwelt." The houses are described in the Surrender as "two dwelling houses fronting Glover's Alley, formerly called Gregory's Lane, wherein Sir Ralph Freke and afterwards Elizabeth Bligh formerly dwelt." They are actually stated in the Deed to have been erected and built on the rere of the house "then lately in the possession of Thomas Addis Emmet."

Glover's Alley was, therefore, formerly called Gregory's Lane, and the two surrendered houses at the back of Dr. Emmet's garden must have been facing Glover's Alley. "Fronting" is the word in the surrender deed.

The boundary wall of Dr. Emmet's premises must

have run down in a straight line along Glover's Alley from the front of Stephen's Green until it reached, what was at one time, Sir Ralph Freke's and Elizabeth Bligh's houses. Are we not, therefore, forced to the conclusion that Dr. Emmet's house was the corner house facing Stephen's Green *at one or the other side of the Alley?*

The surrender from Mr. Greene was obtained so that Mr. Emmet might be enabled to convey the entire premises to two purchasers, Messrs. Thomas Sherlock, Brewer, then of James's Street, and Thomas Conroy, of Grand Canal Harbour, a Timber Merchant. The conveyance to these gentlemen was signed on 21st April, 1802, thirteen days later than Mr. Greene's surrender. This conveyance describes Dr. Emmet's premises exactly as they are in the previous deeds, except that important measurements are given. Thirty-four feet is stated to be the frontage width of Dr. Emmet's house, and the length 251 feet along Glover's Alley from the front of Stephen's Green down to the two houses surrendered by Mr. Greene. These two houses and their rere, are stated as "containing to Glover's Alley 57 feet," in all 308 feet.

The deeds conclusively prove two things (*a*) that Glover's Alley and Gregory's Lane are one and the same, and (*b*) that Dr. Emmet's house was situate at one of the corners at Glover's Alley. In order to convincingly prove that Dr. Emmet's house was the corner house at Glover's Alley on the King Street or Grafton Street side, it is necessary for me to negative the presumption that might adversely be raised that Dr. Emmet's house was at the corner, on the College

of Surgeons' side of Glover's Alley, in which case the house would have been standing at one time on portion of the site now occupied by the College of Surgeons. If this presumption were established, it would follow that Dr. Emmet's house was demolished after 1809 when the College extended itself up to Glover's Alley. I propose, however, to show that the College did not take in Dr. Emmet's house at all. If I establish this negative proposition, it necessarily follows that Dr. Emmet's house was the corner house on the King Street or Grafton Street side of Glover's Alley.

In order to obtain information as to whether the College premises had been extended towards Glover's Alley by taking in any adjoining houses, I attended at the College, and was much facilitated by the courteous secretary. I noticed a fine bust in the hall to the memory of "William Dease, one of the founders of this College, Obit 1798." A tragedy is recorded in these simple words. Dease, who was one of the most distinguished surgeons of his day, had connected himself with the revolutionary movement, and becoming aware that it was known to the Government, and that his arrest, to be followed by condemnation, was imminent, it is said he died by his own hand.

In the very interesting "History of the Royal College of Surgeons," by Sir Charles Cameron, the College, prior to 1805, is stated to have had its headquarters in Mercer Street, where there was very insufficient accommodation. Sir Charles in his book states that "on the 22nd July, 1805, an agreement was entered into for the acquisition of a cemetery at

the junction of York Street and Stephen's Green belonging to the Society of Friends. . . . The cemetery had a frontage of 100 feet towards St. Stephen's Green, and of 250 feet towards York Street." The measurement of the cemetery plot, as given by Sir Charles, is, however, not accurate, as the conveyance, dated the 22nd of July, 1805, from John Robinson and others to the College, only deals with "a plot of ground on the West side of St. Stephen's Green," containing a frontage facing Stephen's Green of 60 feet *from the corner of York Street*, and a length measurement up York Street from the corner, of 238½ feet. In 1805 the College of Surgeons, therefore, had only a frontage of 60 feet to build on. The site was a graveyard, and no houses were upon it. It was upon this site that the College was first built, but a further site was acquired, as it appears by Sir Charles's interesting history that "in 1808 it was found necessary to extend the dissecting-room accommodation, and to make other alterations and additions, for which purpose Parliament granted £5,300," and that "in 1809 £4,500 received from Parliament was expended in purchasing a plot of ground 60 feet in width, *fronting St. Stephen's Green.*" Sir Charles adds: "Two old houses upon it were pulled down. *This extension caused the College premises to be bounded on the North side by Glover's Alley.*"

Neither of these "two old houses" formed any part of Dr. Emmet's premises. The conveyance of this second plot to the College, dated 10th May, 1809, from Beresford Burston, K.C., and others, describes the premises as "the plot of ground on the West side

of St. Stephen's Green, being the eighth lot on that side, *containing to the front of the Square* of the said Green, 60 feet." The length on the Glover's Alley side is stated in the conveyance to be 260 feet. The frontage of the two sites conveyed to the College, one in 1805, and the other in 1809, being 60 feet each, was in all 120 feet, *which is the frontage measurement of the College at the present day.* Dr. Emmet's house was *not* situated on either of the sites taken over by the College of Surgeons. The first site was a graveyard, where there could have been no houses, and the second adjoining site was conveyed by parties (Messrs. Burston, K.C., and others), who had no interest whatever in Dr. Emmet's premises. As previously stated, Messrs. Sherlock and Conroy were then in possession of Dr. Emmet's premises. The sites as stated contained frontages of 60 feet each, while Dr. Emmet's house only contained a frontage of 34 feet. Could anything be more conclusive to negative the presumption that Dr. Emmet's house was on the College of Surgeons' side of Glover's Alley? We must, therefore, of necessity conclude that the boundary garden wall of Dr. Emmet's house ran down from the end of the side-wall of the house, No. 124 Stephen's Green, West, along the Alley until it reached the houses "formerly in possession of Sir Ralph Freke and Elizabeth Bligh." The reader will note that 34 feet is the present frontage measurement of 124 and 125 Stephen's Green.

If further proof is thought necessary that the houses Nos. 124 and 125 Stephen's Green, West, at Glover's Alley corner, were Dr. Emmet's house, it is afforded

by a partnership deed of 27th February, 1808, made between David Sherlock and Thomas Sherlock. David Sherlock was the father of Thomas Sherlock, and by the partnership deed he undertook to take his son Thomas into partnership, and to give him "a half-part share of the brewery and other premises in Glover's Alley." They both thereby undertook to carry on business in the name of David Sherlock and Son. Thomas Sherlock, the son of David Sherlock, was the co-grantee with Thomas Conroy, in the conveyance of the 21st April, 1802, from T. A. Emmet to himself and Mr. Conroy. Mr. Thomas Sherlock, the son, lived in 110 Stephen's Green, in 1809 and 1810, *after the College of Surgeons had acquired their present premises.* The Dublin Directories of the time make that clear. It would seem to have been suitable in the business interests of the firm that one of the partners should live in Dr. Emmet's house immediately adjacent to the brewery in Glover's Alley, which must have been at the end of or upon Dr. Emmet's garden. There was an interest in perpetuity in the premises, and various buildings may have been erected. At present there are several substantial buildings on what was once Dr. Emmet's garden, alongside Glover's Alley. The house has been certainly re-fronted and divided into two houses. The house may have been divided into two by Dr. Emmet, as seems likely, because I find that Thomas Addis Emmet was living, according to the Dublin Directories, about 1796, next door to Dr. Emmet. The baptism of John Patten Emmet, a son of T. A. Emmet, is thus recorded in the Parochial Registry of

St. Peter's Church, on the 15th April, 1796:—"John Patten Emmet, son of Thomas and Jane Addis, Stephen's Green." It would seem, therefore, fairly certain, that there were two houses beside each other in 1796, Nos. 109 and 110.

The writer has an engraving of the College of Surgeons, published in 1828, which shows the College as extended up to Glover's Alley; Dr. Emmet's house being on the other side of the Alley. The two houses shown in the engraving are now the houses known as Nos. 124 and 125 Stephen's Green, West. They were both then private houses, with railings in front. One of them (No. 124), at the corner of Glover's Alley, is now Messrs. Smith and Sheppard's Surgical Establishment, and the other (No. 125), is now occupied by Dr. Little. The history of the two houses seems to be quite clear, since Messrs. Sherlock and Conroy became entitled in 1802. Mrs. Sherlock, the representative of Mr. Sherlock, lived in 1820, according to the Dublin Directory, in No. 110, and also in 1821. In the 1822 Directory, Mrs. Sherlock's address is No. 124, thus showing the change to the present numbers. In 1824, Mrs. Sherlock left the house. In 1829, Mr. William Murphy, Clerk to St. Andrew's Parish Church, appears as the occupier, and in 1833, Mr. Murphy and Mr. M'Intosh are returned as occupiers. The Directory became then arranged in Streets, and there was no No. 125, only 124, 126, and so on. About 1834, Dr. Emmet's house became known as Nos. 124 and 125.

It is certain that it was before 1814 that Dr. Emmet's house had been made two houses of, as in that year an



NOS. 124 AND 125 STEPHEN'S GREEN, AS IN 1828.



Act was passed "for the improvement of the Square called St. Stephen's Green, in the City of Dublin,"* the schedule to which shows the then numbers, the occupiers, and the frontage measurement of each house. 110 is stated to be in possession of "Sherlock," and the other part of the house numbered in the schedule 110½ is stated to be "uninhabited;" 34 feet 8 inches is stated to be the measurement of both, which is only 8 inches in excess of the 34 feet frontage mentioned in the conveyance of 21st April, 1802, from T. A. Emmet to Thomas Sherlock and Thomas Conroy.

There is a good deal of difference in the appearance of the brick-work in front of the house from that in the side and back walls. The roof, too, is very old. No alteration seems to have been made in the back of the house, which viewed from Glover's Alley seems antiquated. Doubtless, in his childhood and student days, Robert Emmet often stood at these windows which overlooked "where once the garden smiled." Many distinguished persons visited this house as friends of the Emmet family. The following are mentioned by Dr. Madden:—Dr. Drennan, Arthur O'Connor, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Rev. Walter Blake Kirwan, Mr. (afterwards Chief Baron) Pennefather and his brother Judge Pennefather, Surgeon Richards, Dr. MacNevin, Mr. Chamberlain (afterwards Judge), Mr. (afterwards Chief Justice) Bushe, Mr. Burton (afterwards Judge), Sir Edward Newenham of St. Doulough's, Peter Borrowes, K.C., Lady Anne

* I am indebted to Arthur Walsh, Esq., of Serpentine Avenue, Sandymount, an eminent authority upon historic Dublin houses, for the information as to the above Act.

Fitzgerald, and Mr. George (afterwards Baron). Mr. St. John Mason, B.L., a nephew of Mrs. Emmet, was also a constant visitor. He was an intimate associate of Robert Emmet, the two being first cousins. Dr. Madden mentions that a letter of Lady Anne Fitzgerald was published in 1803, stating she would not harbour "traitors." So oblivious was Mr. Baron George of his early friendship with the Emmet family, that he actually sat with Lord Norbury in 1803 on the "trial" of Robert Emmet!

The fact that many historic houses associated with the '98 patriots have been happily made known in the Centenary movement, induced me to endeavour to ascertain to a certainty where Dr. Emmet's house was situate. The tablets erected upon the walls of these houses will inspire us and posterity to emulate the heroic deeds and self-sacrifice of the patriots who have passed away.

I trust that my proofs of the existence of Dr. Emmet's house are sufficient, and that it will be henceforth known that one of the most gifted of Ireland's sons, the immortal Robert Emmet, was born on Ash Wednesday, 4th March, 1778, in his father's house, 110 Stephen's Green, now known as 124 and 125 Stephen's Green, West.

CHAPTER III.

BEFORE fully considering the competitive claims of St. Peter's Churchyard, Aungier Street, St. Michan's Churchyard, Church Street, and Old Glasnevin Churchyard for recognition as the place of Emmet's interment, let us first ascertain who, amongst his relatives and intimate friends, would have been most likely to perform the last sad act of the historic tragedy in Thomas Street on the 20th September, 1803. Those nearest to him by ties of kinship, upon whom the duty ordinarily would have devolved, and who would have nobly performed it, had they been able to do so, were unfortunately in captivity, and therefore wholly unable to pay the last mournful tribute to their kinsman and leader. All Emmet's relatives and friends, whom Government could lay hands upon, and whom by any stretch of imagination, they could connect, even most remotely, with his great project, were seized immediately after the revolutionary outbreak of 23rd July, 1803, and consigned for two-and-a-half years to the Bastille at Kilmainham. The effort at revolt failed, as we all know, on the evening of Saturday, 23rd July, 1803. The Privy Council sat next day, Sunday. A Viceregal proclamation, offering £1,000 reward for the apprehension of the leaders, was published on 26th

July, 1803, and the British Parliament passed in one sitting a Bill suspending the Habeas Corpus Act.

The London *Sun* of 1st August, 1803, wrote:—"Discoveries are hourly expected, and some of the leaders who arranged the plan of Rebellion have fortunately been apprehended. They are Holmes, Hope, and Russell, not the Russell who had the audacity to issue, since the Insurrection of the 23rd ult., the following proclamation" (which followed).

One of the earliest arrests was that of Mr. Robert Holmes, B.L., Robert Emmet's brother-in-law, of whom I shall have much to say bearing upon the subject of Emmet's resting-place. Mr. Holmes was the husband of Miss Mary A. Emmet, and was greatly esteemed by his father-in-law, Dr. Emmet. Six days after the effort of the 23rd July, Mr. Holmes was confined in the Tower of Dublin Castle. The Dublin correspondent of the London *Courier* of 3rd August, 1803, wrote:—"Major Sirr, on Thursday morning, took Councillor Holmes into custody." Mr. St. John Mason, B.L., Mrs. Emmet's nephew, and first cousin of Robert Emmet, was arrested in Nenagh, while on circuit, on 9th August, 1803, and driven post haste thence to Kilmainham. Mr. John Patten, brother-in-law of T. A. Emmet, was also taken into custody. A reign of terror prevailed, and arrests were made daily. The Dublin correspondent of the London *Courier*, writing on 26th August, 1803, thus conveyed the reassuring tidings to the alarmed English mind of the arrest of him who had been the life and soul of a great movement to free his native land:—"This day I am enabled to inform you of an event which, I hope, will

be important in its consequences. Yesterday evening, about nine o'clock, Robert Emmet, brother of the *ci-devant* Irish Director, was arrested at Harold's Cross, in the house of a person named Palmer, who, together with a Mr. Whyte adjoining, and who was concerned in harbouring Emmet, have been taken into custody. Emmet had gone by the names of Hutton and Cunningham, which, exciting suspicion, caused his arrest; nor did Major Sirr know his prisoner until after being brought to the Castle, where he was identified by a gentleman of the College." Yes, a Trinity College "gentleman" was found willing to help in the handing over of his former pupil to chains and death—*O tempora, O mores!*

The Dublin letter, dated 30th August, 1803, in the *Courier* of 3rd September, 1803, states that "young Mr. Emmet was brought from Kilmainham jail to-day to the Castle, under a strong guard of horse, and examined before the Privy Council. He is a rather handsome young man, very active, and assumes a fierceness in his manner. . . . Seventeen persons were brought in from the town of Rathfarnham this morning, amongst them being one entire family of the name of Devlin, charged with being the medium of communication between the insurgents of this city and the outlawed robber Dwyer"!

This contemporary description of Emmet is interesting, and in this connection I may say that to my mind the best published portrait of Emmet appears in the *Hibernian Magazine* for September, 1803. It states it is "taken in court," and is probably attributable to Comerford, or the elder Petrie, the finished

sketch being drawn by Comerford. The present-day portraits seem to have been copied from one appearing much later in *Watty Cox's Magazine*. This description of Emmet and his portraits convince one that he was singularly prepossessing in appearance, and it is well known that his manners were extremely winning. How interwoven, then, was the tragedy of his death with the life of a being dear to him, and how rent with anguish she must have been on that dreadful day when, in the glory of his youthful prime, he was hewn down by his country's oppressor?*

The London *Courier* was a hack Government organ, and the state of English feeling of that day will be gauged from the fact of its being so well catered for by its Dublin correspondent. English feeling towards us is the same to-day. Deep down in the hearts of the English masses there still exists a hatred of Ireland and of everything Irish. Like the laws of the Medes and Persians, which never change, the English mind, saturated as it is with hereditary anti-Irish racial prejudice, is as unchangeable in its attitude of aggressive hostility to us as it was in the days of Emmet. Let me, however, pass from this to my subject. Who were Emmet's relatives and intimate friends who would have provided a last resting-place for the patriot had they not been close prisoners or refugees? Holmes, Patten, and Mason were in gaol,

* There is a letter extant from Mr. Wickham, Chief Secretary, to Major Sirr, in reference to the latter's domiciliary visit to the Priory, Rathfarnham, where Miss Curran lived, saying he (the Chief Secretary) was "much distressed at hearing of the state of Miss Sarah Curran's mind," and "to leave her to the care of her sisters."

and so were all his intimate friends who had involved themselves in his enterprise, save such as escaped by flight. Dr. Madden states that John Hickson and Philip Long, two of his most trusted followers, lay also in gaol; also Arthur Devlin and his cousin, the brave Anne Devlin. John Allen and Wm. Dowdall, two of his intimate associates, escaped in a boat from somewhere between Blackrock and Killiney. Dowdall was one of the witnesses to the lease to Robert Emmet of the house in Butterfield Lane. In this connection I may mention that a few years ago I came across the following curious paragraph in an old copy of the *Roscommon and Leitrim Gazette*, of April 2nd, 1853:—
“The lease of the house in Butterfield Lane, Rathfarnham, taken in June, 1803, under the name of Robert Ellis, was purchased last week by auction at Jones, D’Olier Street, the gentleman who made the purchase being since offered five times the amount he paid for the curious document.” This lease, or the landlord’s part of it, was put in evidence at the “trial” of Robert Emmet. One part of this lease afterwards came into the hands of Dr. Madden.

The escape of Hope and Dowdall to France before Emmet’s death rests upon the authority of Dr. Madden, who had reliable information of their movements from their friends. This much is certain, that neither of them were State prisoners in 1803. What then becomes of the story of Dowdall being present at the alleged midnight burial in Old Glasnevin, referred to in Mr. Fitzpatrick’s “Sham Squire, or the Informers of ’98”? No record of the alleged interment appears in the Parochial Register. If we find Mr. Fitzpatrick’s

second-hand version of the alleged midnight burial in Old Glasnevin inaccurate in one respect, may we not doubt its correctness in its entirety? Mr. Fitzpatrick undoubtedly laboured much to resurrect the memory of our patriots from oblivion, but we find errors here and there throughout his works. As an instance, he states in one of his books, that Archibald Hamilton Rowan escaped in 1793 or 1794 in a boat from Rosevale, Raheny, and if he had only looked up Hamilton Rowan's autobiography, he would have found that Rowan's statement that the boat was on the sea-shore opposite Mr. Sweetman's house in Sutton, made it impossible for Rosevale, Raheny, to have been the house from which Rowan escaped, as it was well over a mile from the sea-shore.

Who could have arranged for Emmet's interment? His mother had died eleven days before in her new residence, after her husband's death, Bloomfield, near Donnybrook, and was buried on 11th September, 1803, in St. Peter's. There were only a few of T. A. Emmet's young children in Bloomfield. Mrs. Emmet's daughter, Mrs. Holmes (whose husband was in jail), must also have been in Bloomfield. Mrs. Patten, John Patten's wife, must have been a constant visitor there, and no doubt attended at Mrs. Emmet's death-bed. Miss Catherine Emmet, the only child of Christopher Temple Emmet, was one of the household. Her name "Kitty" is often mentioned in Mrs. Emmet's letters. We can hardly surmise that any other connections were at Bloomfield. Let us think out who were at Mrs. Emmet's lonely funeral in St. Peter's. Such was the terror of the times, that few, except faithful friends

and relatives, would have had the courage to publicly associate themselves with the family upon whom the hand of adversity had weighed so heavily. Dr. Madden mentions that the only connection of Emmet who was not arrested, was Dr. Powell, who was married to Miss Landon, a cousin of Emmet's. He may have been present. It would appear from the clergyman having entered Mrs. Emmet's name in the Register of interments, as "Emilia," instead of "Elizabeth," that he had no facilities for obtaining information at the funeral, or some one must have given him the name who was not certain about Mrs. Emmet's Christian name. A few old retainers of the family may have been present. Doubtless, old Leonard, Dr. Emmet's gardener, was at the funeral, *but the striking fact about him is, that while he must have known that Dr. Emmet, and his wife and son, C. T. Emmet, were interred in St. Peter's Churchyard, Aungier Street, yet he appears never to have disclosed that information to Dr. Madden.* Apparently Dr. Madden, when he was interviewing old Leonard in 1836, did not know where the Emmet family grave was. It would certainly seem from his quoting, without contradicting it, Kinsella's inaccurate statement of Emmet having been re-interred in St. Anne's, Dawson Street, "with his parents," that Dr. Madden must have *at this time* taken it for granted that St. Anne's was the family burying place.

The significance of old Leonard not having divulged the family burying place in St. Peter's to Dr. Madden is the greater, because it is nearly certain he was at his master's (Dr. Emmet's) funeral thirty-four years before, on 12th December, 1802, being then employed

in Casino, as can be inferred from one of Leonard's conversations with Dr. Madden. Robert Emmet had returned in October, 1802, from seeing his brother, T. A. Emmet, in Brussels, and must have been at his father's interment in St. Peter's; so also was Mr. Robert Holmes, B.L. *The two must have stood together at the open grave in St. Peter's.* Let the reader bear this in mind, when, considering what would have been in Holmes' mind to impel him to inter his brother-in-law in the family grave. In the *Dublin Evening Post* of Saturday, 11th December, 1802, Dr. Emmet's death is announced thus:—"On the 9th inst., at Casino, near Miltown, Dr. Emmet, for many years State Physician."

Dr. Madden states that in 1836 he sent old Leonard to George Dunne, the ex-jailer of Kilmainham, to ascertain how the remains of Emmet had been disposed of after their removal from the place of execution. Dunne stated that no one came forward to claim the remains of Emmet, and that they were interred in Bully's Acre, Kilmainham. Dunne also was alleged to have told old Leonard that Emmet's remains were exhumed with great privacy shortly afterwards and re-interred in Dublin. Dunne having stated this to Leonard, *why did not Leonard tell Dr. Madden of the family grave in St. Peter's?* Only thirty-three years had passed since the patriot's death, and it is reasonable to conclude that this faithful retainer of the Emmet family consistently followed the reticence that Emmet's nearest connection then living in Dublin, Mr. Holmes, B.L., had always adopted regarding the family grave in St. Peter's. Occasionally in Dr. Madden's Memoir of Emmet he mentions

Mr. Holmes as Mr. H——. The secret of Emmet's interment, in my opinion, was in the keeping of Holmes, and well did he keep it. Holmes was as true a patriot as ever lived; and, as I shall show hereafter, having had many responsibilities cast upon him by his near connection with the Emmet family, nobly performed every one of these responsibilities. I shall endeavour to show in my next chapter how these responsibilities arose, and why it is a natural conclusion to come to that it was upon him the solemn duty, it might be said, was imposed of laying the bones of Emmet with those of his father and mother in St. Peter's Churchyard, Aungier Street.

CHAPTER IV.

DR. Robert Emmet, by his will dated 3rd February, 1800, appointed as his executor and trustee, his son, Thomas Addis Emmet, then a State prisoner in Fort George, and by an undated codicil, which, so far as I can learn, has never been published before, he directed that "in case it should be inconvenient to my son, Thomas Addis, to act as my executor as by the within will appointed, I then and hereby appoint my son-in-law, Robert Holmes, Esq., to that trust." Here in the events which happened, we find Mr. Holmes occupying a position of the greatest trust in relation to his wife's family. Thomas Addis Emmet never saw his native land again, and on the 28th December, 1802, Mr. Holmes obtained as executor a grant of probate to Dr. Emmet's will, of which I give the following extracts: "In the name of God, amen, I, Robert Emmet, of Casino, near Miltown, in the County of Dublin, Doctor of Physic, being of sound and disposing mind, memory, and understanding, do make and publish this my Will and Testament in manner and form following. I order and direct that my just debts be paid. . . . I give, devise and bequeath my leasehold interests in the lands of Knockena, in the County of Kerry, and also my leasehold interests, whether freehold or chattel, in the dwellinghouse and

lands whereon I now reside, . . . with my household furniture, plate, stock of cattle, and farming utensils to my eldest son now living, Thomas Addis Emmet, subject to the payment of £2,500, to be paid by him as purchase money, and to be considered by him as part of the residue . . . of my fortune, and in case my said son shall not choose to accede or agree to the foregoing bequest upon the said terms, then my will is that my said two leasehold interests, together with my said furniture, plate, stock of cattle, and farming implements shall be sold, and the money arising therefrom shall be paid into and considered as part of my personal estate."

Mr. T. A. Emmet did not accept the devise to him of Casino by his father's will, preferring to cast the anchor of his fortunes in the land of his adoption, the United States, which had but a few years before thrown off the yoke of British colonial rule and emerged into nationhood. T. A. Emmet's intention to reside in the States must have been formed before October, 1801, as in a letter to him from his mother, dated 26th October, 1801, published by Dr. Madden, she says regretfully: "I have long foreseen what your determination would be, and ever since Jefferson has been chosen, I have expected that in America you would reside." Mrs. Emmet evidently referred to Jefferson having been elected President of the then infant Republic, from which it is apparent that T. A. Emmet had hopes of preferment owing to Jefferson being in power. The profession which T. A. Emmet adorned when at the Bar, was rigorously closed to him in Ireland, as the Benchers had disbarred him at

the instance of Government. His mother referred to this in the same letter that I have quoted, when she wrote:—"I have never entertained a hope that you would, in the event of a peace, return to this country, and I have never cherished a wish that you should be dishonoured in this or any other." Sad, indeed, it was, that the tyrannous system which was, alas! so soon to extinguish in death the brilliant career of her youngest son, he, who was in his impending fate the son of her sorrow, should, with rancorous hate, deprive his only brother of the noble profession to which he belonged, because he loved his country "not wisely, but too well." In the crushing misfortunes which it became the lot of this noble woman to bear in her old age—the exile of her eldest son, the death of her beloved husband, and her agonized apprehensions of the dreadful fate of her youngest son, when she learned the appalling tidings that he had fallen into the hands of his pitiless enemies, she might indeed lament in the beautiful words of Young:—

"Insatiate Archer! could not one suffice?

Thy shaft flew thrice, and thrice my peace was slain."

She was borne down with the tide of misfortune, and passed away at Bloomfield, Donnybrook, on the 9th September, 1803, eleven days before the immolation of her son as a victim to British hate.

By the terms of Dr. Emmet's will, Mrs. Emmet was to have been entitled during her life to the invested proceeds of £5,500, which was directed by Dr. Emmet to be raised for that purpose. The testator's direction was "to pay and hand over unto my dearly beloved

and most deserving wife, Elizabeth Emmet, formerly Mason, the interest money accruing . . . upon the said principal sum of £5,500, . . . which, with £30 per annum settled upon her at her marriage, and charged upon the lands of Ballydowney, in the County of Kerry, will make her income £360 per annum."

Dr. Emmet also directed that after the decease of his wife, "the interest money of £2,000, part of the said sum of £5,500, shall go and be paid to my daughter, Mary Anne, now married to Robert Holmes, Esq., during her life, and after her decease the said interest money to be applied for the maintenance of her child or children," and included a provision in his will for the payment of the entire of the £2,000 to Mrs. Holmes' child or children after her decease. If she had no children, which did not happen, the testator directed that the £2,000 "shall revert to my two sons, Thomas Addis Emmet and Robert Emmet, to be divided equally between them." The testator also directed that "as to £2,000 more of said principal sum of £5,500, the interest money whereof I have bequeathed to my dearly beloved wife during her life, my will is that after her decease, *said £2,000 shall be handed over and paid to my son Robert Emmet*, and as to the remaining £1,500 of said principal sum of £5,500, . . . my will is that said £1,500 shall be paid to my grand-daughter, Catherine Emmet, daughter of my late son, Christopher Temple Emmet."

The last-mentioned provision made by Dr. Emmet for his grand-daughter, Miss Catherine Emmet (as to whom I shall have something further to say later on), clearly indicates that Dr. Emmet was one of the most

high-minded of men. It appears, as recited in the will, that Mrs. Temple, mother of Mrs. C. T. Emmet, paid over £1,000 to C. T. Emmet, in consideration of being paid an annuity of £50 a year for life, which through some oversight was never secured, but was, notwithstanding, regularly paid to Mrs. Temple, until her daughter, Mrs. C. T. Emmet, died after her husband. The testator stated he had afterwards paid it himself, and directed the life annuity to be paid to Mrs. Temple after his death out of the lands of Ballydowney, Co. Kerry, and if it was not so paid, that it should be paid out of the interest on the £1,500 bequeathed to his grand-daughter.

As regards the £1,500 so bequeathed by Dr. Emmet to his grand-daughter, Mr. Holmes faithfully carried out all the obligations imposed upon him, and up to her death, Miss C. Emmet (who never married) had the greatest regard for her uncle-in-law, Mr. Holmes.

Dr. Emmet's will concludes with a bequest of the remainder of his fortune to his sons, Thomas Addis Emmet and Robert Emmet, *share and share alike*.

Afterwards Dr. Emmet varied the will by the undated codicil before referred to. I quote it rather fully owing to its giving particulars which cannot be questioned of the moneys which were to have been received by Robert Emmet out of his father's assets from his brother-in-law, the executor and trustee, Robert Holmes.

The codicil is in Dr. Emmet's handwriting, and commences by stating that "Whereas at the time of making and perfecting the within, I had £2,000 in hand or securities to the amount, *ready to be handed*

over to my son, Robert, to fix him in any line of business which might have appeared eligible, but not having been since given him, I hereby establish the same or so much thereof as I shall not pay to him during my life as a just debt and claim upon my assets over and above the £2,000 within bequeathed to him, and having since that time acquired an annuity or rent-charge of £150 per annum, payable by Mr. Justice Day or Sir Edward Denny, during the lives of my dearly beloved wife and of my two sons, Thomas Addis and Robert, now I hereby appoint that said annuity shall, during the life of my said wife, be paid to her in lieu and stead of the interest money on £2,000 within bequeathed to my said son Robert, but not payable to him until after her death, and which consequently I now will and appoint to be paid to him immediately after mine."

The testator directed that the rent-charge of £150 per annum before referred to should, after his wife's death, be paid to her son, Thomas Addis Emmet, and he was also to have Casino. The testator adds: "By which here above regulation I think that my dearly beloved wife and both my sons will be eventually benefited, as she will be given an addition of £30 per annum to the provision first appointed for her. My son, Thomas Addis, will, after her decease, acquire an annuity of £150 per annum during his own and his brother, Robert's, life, peaceably and well-secured, instead of a disputable and uncertain interest, and my son, Robert, will, immediately after my decease, have £2,000 to apply as he may think best with what residue of the £2,000 which I now owe to him as shall at my death remain unpaid, wherefore, I hereby appoint the above regula-

tion written by myself as a codicil to my within will, and in case it should be inconvenient to my son, Thomas Addis, to act as my executor as by the within will appointed, I then and hereby appoint my son-in-law, Robert Holmes, Esq., to that trust." The testator added: "And whereas, my said grand-daughter [*i.e.*, Miss Catherine Emmet] may die without being married, or leaving any issue by marriage whereby her fee-simple estate in the County of Kerry would vest with my son, Thomas Addis, now, my will and appointment in that case is that the sum of £1,500 herein bequeathed to my said grand-daughter, shall, in that contingency, go, and be paid *to my son, Robert, and his heirs.*"

The affidavit of Joseph Rawlins, Attorney, proved that the codicil was in the handwriting of the testator, and states that the deceased nominated and appointed his son, Thomas Addis Emmet, sole executor thereof, "who was, sometime previous to the death of the testator, banished from the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, on account of his political principles, since which time he hath not returned," and the deponent submitted that the alternative executor, Robert Holmes, should obtain a grant of probate, and averred "that the burden of the execution of the said will and codicil of the said deceased cannot be committed to the said Thomas Addis Emmet, he being still in a state of banishment."

The reader will be interested in the following extract from the London *Courier*, of 23rd September, 1803, bearing on what must be regarded as Mr. Rawlins' subsequent perfidy in having voluntarily given in-

formation to Government about Robert Emmet's movements, resulting from which, Rawlins was a witness for the Crown at Emmet's "trial" on 19th Sept., 1803. "Mr. Rawlins, Attorney, identified the prisoner at the Bar as Robert Emmet. He met him at his father's (Dr. Emmet's) house soon after his return from Brussels, where he had an interview with his brother."

Mr. Rawlins lived until 1836, and was interred in St. Peter's, Aungier Street, on 8th January, 1836. *Mr. Robert Holmes never afterwards employed him in the various transactions (and they were many) arising out of Dr. Emmet's affairs.* I point this out as a striking instance that Holmes venerated the memory of his brother-in-law, and resented Rawlins' disclosure of a confidential visit having been made by him to Casino.

Some time after the 28th December, 1802, the date upon which the probate issued to Mr. Holmes, he must have made Robert Emmet a payment on foot of the two legacies coming to him—one of £2,000, and the other, a balance of the £2,000, to have been paid him by his father. As I think I can show in my next chapter, it is quite possible that the realization of the assets had not been completed, and that Robert Emmet, therefore, might not have received the entire amount coming to him. The sale of Casino does not appear to have been fully completed until after Emmet's death, and even after payment of the legacies, there probably was a residue devisable between Robert Emmet and his brother. That residue could not have been ascertainable until long

after Emmet's death. Emmet, however, who was after his father's death entitled to a sum of between £3,000 and £4,000, expended all the money he received from Holmes in the Revolutionary movement. He staked everything on the fateful issue—his life and fortune.

The *Dublin Evening Post* of 24th Sept., 1803, states that Emmet "received, at the death of his father, £2,500, and had expended of that sum £1,400 in purchasing the arms found."

The *Dublin Evening Post* was at this time subsidised by Government advertisements, and it is impossible to believe with certainty anything it states about Emmet, writing, as it did, in the interests of Government. This much is certain, that a large sum of money was proposed to be given, as stated by Dr. Madden, to the jailer, Dunne, in Kilmainham, to accomplish Emmet's escape before his "trial," which would seem to bear out that more moneys were coming to him.

I have dealt thus fully with Dr. Emmet's will, in order to show the intimate association of Robert Holmes with the Emmet family, and why he should be considered as being the only connection of Emmet who would have been most likely to carry into effect the solemn testament of the patriot contained in one of the most memorable speeches that ever fell from the lips of man.

CHAPTER V.

IN my last chapter I showed that Mr. Robert Holmes, B.L., was so trusted by his father-in-law, Dr. Emmet (who in his long life must have acquired a profound experience of the ways of men), that he made him his executor. Later on I think it will be apparent to the reader when he appreciates the loftiness of Holmes' character, that he was not the man to fail in any trust reposed in him. Dr. Emmet, by his appointment of Holmes as executor, virtually directed him to stand in his place, and to carry out his last wishes in the disposition of his means between his two sons after his wife's death. Holmes was a man likely to take even a higher view, if possible, of his duties. The reader, I think, will come to the conclusion that Holmes—standing as he did in the place of Robert Emmet's father—would not have failed to comply with the dying behest of Robert Emmet, the brother of his own wife. However, before I bring the reader to this stage of thought in the consideration of the true place of the patriot's interment, I desire, first, to show that Robert Holmes faithfully carried out the onerous duties imposed upon him by the executorship.

In consequence of Mr. T. A. Emmet being unable, owing to his deep-seated aversion to British rule in

Ireland, to accept the devise to him by his father of the family residence at Casino, Miltown, it became necessary to comply with the testator's direction to sell Casino and the lands attached thereto.

The premises at Miltown belonging to Dr. Emmet are described in the earlier title deeds of Casino during Dr. Emmet's time as (a) "a large house, garden and out-offices, and over eight acres of land [presumably Irish measure], known as Casino, Miltown;" (b) "part of Miltown situate at the corner of the road leading from Miltown to Roebuck, containing two acres, one rood, twenty-nine perches, held for the lives of Frederick, Duke of York, Isaac Gartside, and Thomas Lane, and for the lives for ever thereafter to be added to the lease thereof, dated 5th June, 1790, from Miss Anne Elizabeth Moulds, of Kevin Street, to Thomas Andrews." This lease had vested in Dr. Emmet, who obtained a renewal thereof on the 7th March, 1796, from Miss Anne Elizabeth Moulds, for the lives of Frederick, Duke of York, George, Prince of Wales, and Thomas Moulds; (c) (1) "a plot of ground containing one acre and half a rood, bounded on the southern and western sides by Dr. Emmet's ground, on the eastern side by ground in the possession of Alderman John Exshaw, and on the northern side by ground in the possession of George Frederick Moulds and Mary Anne Moulds;" (2) "a piece of ground on the left-hand of the road leading from Dublin to Powerscourt, near Miltown, whereon the doorway and part of the wall is built, and which said wall is part of the mearing between the ground held by the said George Frederick Moulds and Mary Anne Moulds,

and the lands of Casino held by the said Robert Emmet . . . with the use of the dyke or watercourse between the holdings of the said Robert Emmet and the said George Frederick Moulds and Mary Anne Moulds in common, as a passage for the water of said respective premises;" (3) "and also that piece or parcel of ground next adjoining the aforesaid doorway and dyke and watercourse, containing in front twenty-one feet, in rere ninety-eight feet, bounded on the west by the garden of the said George Frederick Moulds and Mary Anne Moulds, on the east by the field of the said George Frederick Moulds and Mary Anne Moulds, and on the south by a doorway, dyke, and watercourse aforesaid." These premises, 1, 2, and 3 (c), were held under a lease dated 9th January, 1799, for eighty-two years from 25th March, 1800, and which must have consequently expired on the 25th March, 1882.

There is, I think, now living in the village of Miltown, a descendant of Mr. and Mrs. Moulds, which family appears at one time to have had some property about Miltown.

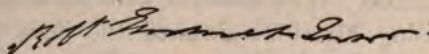
The renewal lease of the 7th March, 1796, from Miss Moulds to Dr. Emmet, of part of the lands of Miltown, containing 2a. 1r. 29p., has an absorbing interest attached to it, inasmuch as the execution of the lease and the original memorial or abstract thereof registered in the Registry of Deeds Office, Dublin, are both witnessed by Robert Emmet as "Robt. Emmet, junr." The other witness was one William Goodwin. Robert Emmet was then eighteen years of age, having reached his eighteenth birthday three days before.

About this time Dr. Emmet must have contemplated giving over his houses, Nos. 109 and 110 Stephen's Green—now Nos. 124 and 125 Stephen's Green—to his son, T. A. Emmet, and, as mentioned in a previous chapter, the assignment by Dr. Emmet of the Stephen's Green house was signed by him on the 10th May, 1796, two months after he had renewed the lease from Miss Moulds. She is stated in the lease to have lived in Kevin Street, and doubtless Robert Emmet and the other witness, William Goodwin, went to Miss Moulds' in Kevin Street on the 7th March, 1796, to have the deed signed.

There may be an original signature of Emmet extant, but even if there were more than one, the proof of their genuineness is difficult. The signature to the renewal lease of 7th March, 1796, proves itself, as necessarily according to the Registration Acts one of the witnesses had to make an affidavit of due execution, which is endorsed upon the original memorial or abstract. It was William Goodwin who made the affidavit.

I was very fortunate in being able to avail myself of the services of my friend, Mr. P. J. O'Reilly, Fellow of the Royal Society of Antiquaries, to photograph the original signature. We attended at the Registry of Deeds, Henrietta Street, and were afforded facilities for photographing. The day was rather unfavourable, being somewhat cloudy. The courteous officials, however, removed the volume required to a better lighted room; but owing, as Mr. O'Reilly informs me, to the margin of the parchment memorial being bound into the volume, a photographic reproduction showing the

correct perspective of the signature could not be obtained unless the volume could be unbound, which was not possible. Then, again, another difficulty presented itself by reason of the original memorial not presenting a flat surface. This caused the words "Robt." and "Emmet," to be more or less curved. Mr. O'Reilly, under very unfavourable conditions, essayed three times to photograph the signature, one of which gave a fairly good though thin negative, which it is here tried to reproduce.



Reader, what would have been your thoughts if that time-worn parchment had been unrolled to you, and you saw before your eyes the patriot's name subscribed *by his own hand*?—that hand which throbbed responsively to a mind and brain quickened with eagerness to free his native land from the enslavement of foreign rule. Your very soul would have been stirred. You would have murmured—"*His form bent over this faded time-worn scroll in the freshness of youth—his hand touched the parchment upon which I look—that signature, letter by letter, came before his view as he signed his never-to-be-forgotten name, and his eyes, reflecting the genius of his mind, gazed upon this faded scroll.*" These would have been your thoughts, as they were mine.

The exquisite symmetry of the original signature indicates Emmet's refinement and cultured temperament. If ever handwriting could be said to indicate this, the original signature of Emmet does. I am,

however, digressing, and must bring the reader back to my subject, which is the winding up of Dr. Emmet's affairs by his executor, Mr. Holmes.

On the 16th May, 1803, a conveyance and assignment was executed by Mr. Holmes to Mr. James Martin Pike, of Limerick City, Merchant, of the house and lands at Casino, Miltown, described in the deed as before-mentioned, at *a*, *b*, and *c*. Mr. T. A. Emmet is stated to be a party to the deed, but he did not execute it. The purchase-money set forth in the deed is £2,000. It is, however, evident that whoever was advising Mr. Pike deemed the deed imperfect owing to Mr. T. A. Emmet not having executed it. It would seem that Mr. Holmes had a power of attorney from Mr. T. A. Emmet to execute on his behalf the assignment of 21st April, 1802, from T. A. Emmet, then of Fort George, Scotland, to Thomas Sherlock and Thomas Conroy of the house now known as Nos. 124 and 125 Stephen's Green, where Robert Emmet was born, but evidently, that power of attorney was limited to the execution of the assignment to Messrs. Sherlock and Conroy. The obtaining of a new power of attorney was delayed for over three years, owing to the arrest of Mr. Holmes on 29th July, 1803, for complicity in the revolutionary movement. He lay in jail until March, 1806, when there was a general release of State prisoners.

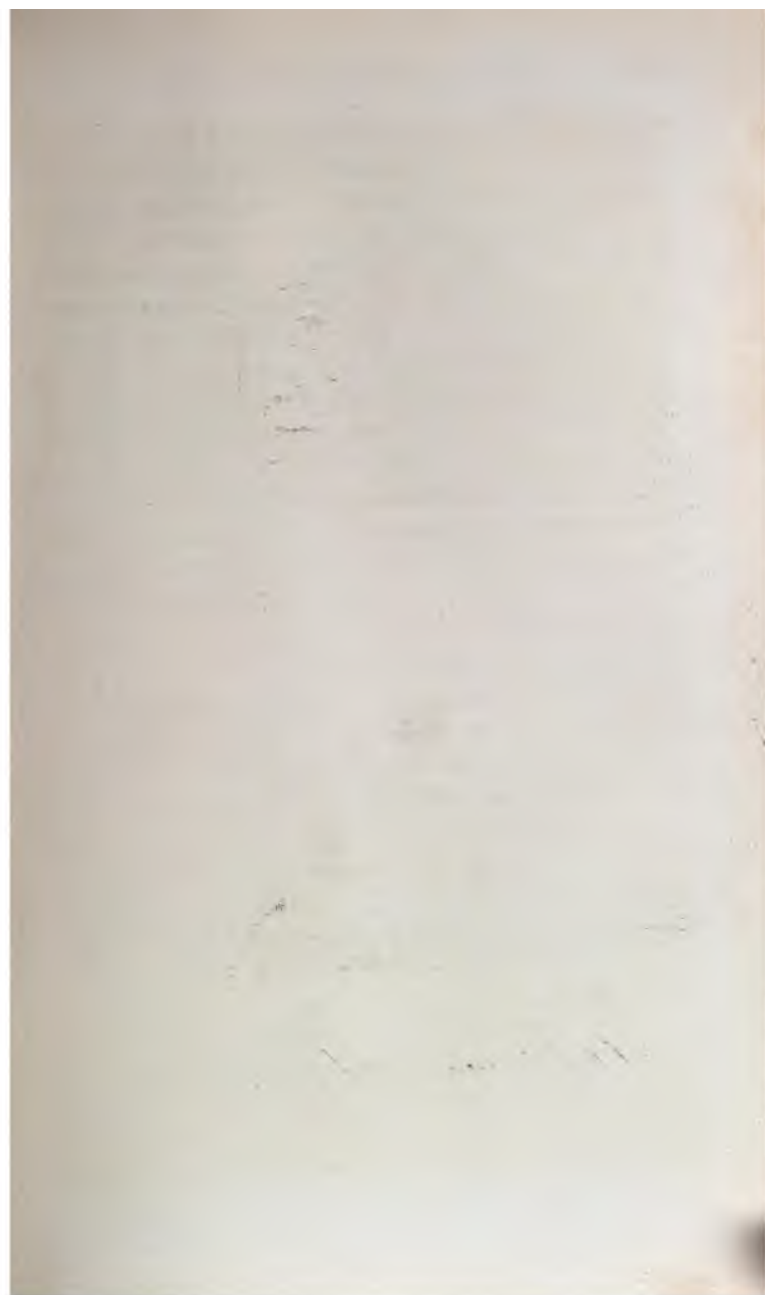
A petition had been presented to the English Viceroy, Lord Hardwicke, on 12th August, 1804, referred to by Dr. Madden, protesting against the tyrannical conduct of some of the jail officials. Messrs. Patten (T. A. Emmet's brother-in-law), Hick-

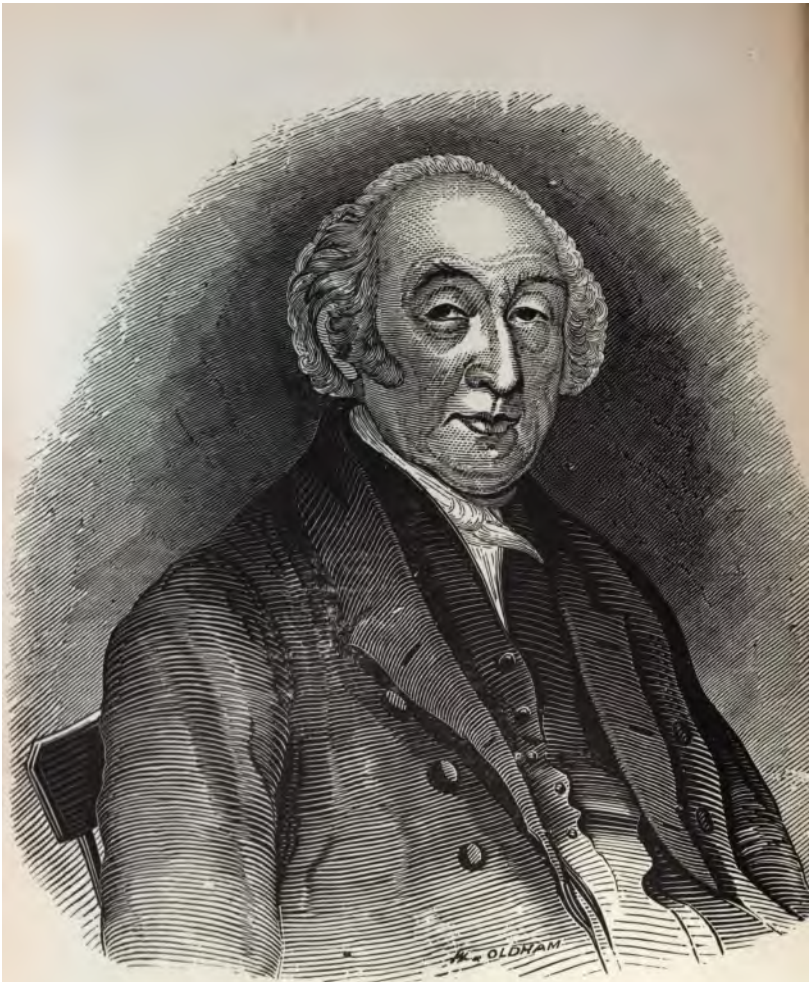
son, Tandy, Long, and Mason signed it, but as an instance of how uncompromising Holmes was, he did not sign the petition. He would neither complain, even though the notorious fact of the ill-treatment of the prisoners justified complaint, nor ask for, nor accept a favour from Government. During Holmes' long life afterwards, and while occupying a high position at the Bar, he never would accept silk from any Administration, being content to remain with a stuff gown. After Mr. Holmes was released with his fellow-prisoners in March, 1806, he evidently procured the power of attorney from Mr. T. A. Emmet, then of New York, to execute the conveyance and assignment of Casino to Mr. Pike, as another conveyance and assignment dated 16th July, 1806, was executed to Mr. Pike, the only parties in the deed being stated to be Mr. T. A. Emmet and Mr. Pike. Mr. Holmes had, of course, signed the previous deed of 16th May, 1803, which made it unnecessary for him to execute the additional deed himself in his executorial capacity. He merely executed it for Mr. T. A. Emmet pursuant to the power of attorney.

The completion of this long-delayed transaction arising out of Dr. Emmet's will shows conclusively that Mr. Holmes must have been in correspondence with his brother-in-law, Mr. T. A. Emmet. It can hardly be suggested that the subject of Emmet's interment did not come into the correspondence of these men? T. A. Emmet must have asked Holmes for full details of the circumstances relating to his brother's death and place of interment. Surely he would have urged upon Holmes to lay the bones of

his brother in the grave of his father and mother in St. Peter's, Aungier Street? To suppose the contrary would be to believe him coldly indifferent, and we know from his letters that family affection was one of his many virtues. Tone said he loved the man, from which we may infer that his disposition was a lovable one.

Dr. Emmet's eldest son, Christopher Temple Emmet, died in 1788, and his widow and father appear to have deferred the erection of a commemorative headstone. Dr. Emmet died on 9th December, 1802, and it would seem, after much difficulty, that Dr. Madden, years after first writing on the subject, found a headstone in St. Peter's, with this inscription :—"Here lie the remains of Robert Emmet, M.D., who died the 9th December, 1802, in the 73rd year of his age." Well nigh a century has rolled by since then, and those who could have given a living proof that the bones of Emmet rest in this grave have passed away. To throw a light upon the past regarding the actual place of his interment, is the task I have undertaken, in the hope that the hovering shadows of one hundred years may be dispelled.





Robert Holmes

CHAPTER VI.

DR. Robert Emmet's executor, Robert Holmes, all through his life, was the trusted friend of every member of the Emmet family. We find in various family transactions that he acted the part of confidential friend and adviser. On the 16th October, 1802, Miss Catherine Emmet, described as "heiress of Robert Emmet, M.D." (the only child of his eldest son, C. T. Emmet), executed an assignment to Samuel Bewley, William Harding, Thomas Pim, and others of Dr. Emmet's interest in certain property in Donnybrook, under a deed of 1st November, 1786. The execution of this deed by Miss Emmet was witnessed by Robert Holmes, which indicates that he had been confidentially consulted about the matter. It also appears that a mortgage of £1,722, 5s., formerly vested in Dr. Emmet, and affecting the estates of St. John Mason, was transferred by a deed dated 13th May, 1807, to which Robert Holmes and Miss Catherine Emmet were the principal parties. The deed is stated to be made between "Thomas Addis Emmet, late of the City of Dublin, Esquire, but now residing in New York, in the United States of America, eldest son now living, and executor and sole trustee named in the last will and testament of Robert Emmet, late of Casino,

near Miltown, in the County of Dublin, Esquire, Doctor of Physick (*sic*), deceased, of the first part; Robert Holmes, of the City of Dublin, Esquire, Barrister-at-law, *and only acting executor of said Robert Emmet*, of the second part; Catherine Emmet, a minor under the age of twenty-one years, granddaughter and heiress-at-law of the said Robert Emmet, of the third part; St. John Mason, of the City of Dublin, Esquire, Barrister-at-law, of the fourth part; and John Colles, of Kinsale, in the County of Cork, Esquire, of the fifth part; and Edward Bishop, of Kinsale, aforesaid, Esquire, of the sixth part."

The mortgage money of £1,722, 5s. in this deed was paid to Robert Holmes, being on foot of mortgages given by St. John Mason to his uncle-in-law, Dr. Emmet; and Mr. Holmes executed this deed for and on behalf of Thomas Addis Emmet "pursuant to a power of attorney to him given by the said Thomas Addis Emmet for that purpose." It was also signed by him in his executorial capacity, and by St. John Mason, and Thomas Ellis, Esquire, "Master of the High Court of Chancery, guardian of Catherine Emmet, pursuant to an order of the said Court of Chancery dated the 14th of May, 1807."

In this deed we find Holmes exercising his executorial functions in realizing Dr. Emmet's estate, which necessitated calling in the mortgage on Mr. St. John Mason's property. All along Mr. Holmes must have been in correspondence with his exiled brother-in-law, T. A. Emmet, and it would be opposed to the very attributes of human nature itself, and family

affection, to suggest that T. A. Emmet did not impose upon Holmes the solemn duty of placing the relics of his patriot brother with the bones of his father and mother in St. Peter's, or at least anxiously inquire. He certainly must have received satisfactory assurances from Holmes.

In his after life in the States, T. A. Emmet is well known to have always avoided making any reference to his earlier life in Ireland. His reticence was most marked. Like Holmes, he carried his secret with him to the grave. Holmes, too, preserved a sphinx-like silence all the years of his life, and remained the sincere and constant friend of T. A. Emmet and Miss Catherine Emmet during their lives.

On the 14th November, 1815, Miss Emmet made her will as follows, marking her sense of esteem for Holmes by leaving him a legacy:—"In the name of God. Amen. I, Catherine Emmet, of Lower Swanswick, near Bath, spinster, the only surviving child of Christopher Temple Emmet, late of the City of Dublin, Esquire, deceased, do make this my last will. . . . I direct that all my just debts be paid by my executor, together with my funeral expenses. *I bequeath to my esteemed uncle and friend, Robert Holmes of the City of Dublin, Barrister-at-law, £500. Item—I bequeath to my cousin Christopher Temple Emmet, son of my dear uncle Thomas Addis Emmet of New York, Esquire, all the books and premiums obtained by my late father while he was in college and my father's picture.*"

After other bequests, she bequeathed "to my cousin Elizabeth Holmes, daughter of the said

Robert Holmes, the brooch containing her mother's hair, set round with pearls, and the locket which contains her uncle and her aunt Emmet's hair."

Miss Emmet also bequeathed to Miss Peggy Hazlett, daughter of William Hazlett, Dissenting minister of Bath, the interest of £500 sterling for her life, and after her decease the testatrix directed the sum of £500 "to be paid to my said dear cousin, Christopher Temple Emmet, and as to the residue of my freehold and personal chattels of every nature and kind soever, I give, devise and bequeath same unto my dear uncle, Thomas Addis Emmet, now of York, in America; and of this my Will and Testament I appoint my uncle, Robert Holmes, executor."

Mis Emmet executed a codicil on 16th June, 1817, which did not materially affect the will. She died in Bath, in 1825, and probate was granted to Robert Holmes, of 28 Gardiner's Place, on 15th December, 1825.

The striking personality of Holmes necessarily looms up in investigating the mystery of Emmet's interment. He was admitted to the Bar in 1795. No address appears for him in the Dublin Directory until 1803, in which year his address is given as Stephen's Street, *which it may be noted is in the parish of St. Peter*. Mr. Holmes and his wife had, however, been living in Casino with Dr. Emmet's family up to the time it was sold. Stephen's Street was his address up to 1806, but he was in jail after 29th July, 1803. From 1807 to 1815 Mr. Holmes' address was 6 Hardwicke Street. From 1816 to 1824 his address was 27 Gardiner's Place, and from

1825 to 1837 it appears to have been 28 Gardiner's Place. From 1838 to 1851 Mr. Holmes' address was 32 Gardiner's Place. In 1852, when he was aged 88, his address was 17 Summerhill. In 1853 his address was 17 Eccles Street, and in the List of Barristers it was 7 Eccles Street. The name "Robert Holmes, Father of the Irish Bar," is given in 1854 without any address, and so on up to 1858.

Mr. Holmes had, as appears by Miss C. Emmet's will, one daughter, Elizabeth. She married Mr. George Lennox Cunningham, of the War Office, who lived in London, and Mr. Holmes, in his extreme old age, went to reside with his son-in-law. On the 15th of December, 1857, Mr. Holmes made a very short will in his own handwriting, by which he left everything he possessed absolutely to his grandson, George Lennox Cunningham the younger, and he appointed him and his son-in-law, George Lennox Cunningham, executors of his will.

Mr. Holmes had been much trusted by Nationalists, and defended John Mitchel in 1848, when he was in his 84th year. It is well known that he had a deep aversion to Plunket, the Lord Chancellor, who had, in 1803, exceeded his duty as a prosecuting counsel in Emmet's "trial." Moreover, his opinions upon the evils arising from the English connection were known to have never changed.

The following announcement appeared in the *Dublin Evening Mail* of 5th December, 1859:—"At his residence, 37 Eaton Place, Belgrave Square, Robert Holmes, Esq., in the 95th year of his age."

The editorial notice of his death is as follows:—

"DEATH OF ROBERT HOLMES."

"It is with feelings of the deepest sorrow we record the death of this distinguished Irishman and eminent lawyer. The sad event took place in London last Wednesday, at the residence of his son-in-law, Eaton Square, having just attained the age of 95, and in the full possession of his mental faculties."

The *Dublin Evening Post* of December 3rd, 1859, thus records Mr. Holmes' death:—"The death of this truly great man in London had been reported about two years ago, when the erroneous announcement had given occasion to panegyrics upon his public and private life in the Irish newspapers, which it was stated at the time he had read with gratification as the kind expressions of his countrymen towards one who loved Ireland well. It is now our duty to announce the fact that the earthly career of Robert Holmes has terminated. He died on Wednesday last, at the residence of his son-in-law, in Eaton Place, London. The venerable gentleman had just entered on his ninety-fifth year, and to the last was in possession of his mental faculties. We cannot better convey our opinion of his character than in the words of one to whom he was most intimately known for years—no ordinary judge of human nature—who, in communicating this intelligence to our friend in Dublin, thus expressed himself: 'He died this evening at a quarter to seven o'clock, and a nobler spirit never winged its way from this to the other world than his.' The numerous admirers and the many attached friends of Robert Holmes in Ireland will, we are sure, fully re-echo this sentiment. If loftiness of mind and resolute

independence of character, accompanied by intellect of the highest order, be proofs of greatness elevating itself without the aid of high position or official station, Robert Holmes was indeed a foremost man. Robert Holmes was called to the Bar in Hilary Term, 1795, and had been the contemporary of the great lawyers and orators who had shed so much lustre on their country in the early part of the present century, outliving all of them, and there was this peculiarity in the case of Mr. Holmes, that he acquired a distinguished position, wearing the stuff gown of the outer Bar and rejecting the honours which various Governments, recognising his eminent abilities, offered to him. He remained at the Bar to a rather advanced age in full practice, enjoying the esteem and attachment of his professional brethren, and of all parties, and of the public, who admired that noble character we have imperfectly portrayed. The latter years of his life were spent in domestic repose and seclusion, with a mind unclouded and with affections for friends and country ardent almost as in youth."

The reader will conclude that Mrs. Holmes, sister of Robert Emmet, must have died before 1815, judging by the bequest of a brooch, containing a lock of her hair, by Miss Catherine Emmet to Mrs. Holmes' daughter in 1815, and the question will therefore occur to him as to where Holmes interred his wife. Naturally he would have interred her in St. Peter's with her father and mother. He lived from 1807 to 1851 in the Parish of St. George, but interments so far as I know in St. George's Church were unknown, and there is no record in the register

of interments in St. George's Graveyard, Whitworth Road. The mystery is deepened by the fact that there is no record of Mrs. Holmes' interment in St. Peter's. Omissions of interment sometimes occurred, but the omission is most significant in this case.

There is no doubt that Mrs. Holmes was interred in St. Peter's. Dr. Madden, in the second edition of his Memoir of Emmet, published in 1860, after Holmes' death in 1859, when he had procured more information, says that Mrs. Mary Anne Holmes died in 1804, and that "her remains were interred with those of her parents in the Churchyard of St. Peter's, Aungier Street." *Why did Holmes not inscribe the tombstone, if there was one, to her memory?* Is it not clear that he desired the family grave to remain in obscurity, and so allowed it to remain for fifty years while he was in Dublin, in order that to the very letter he might comply with the testament of the patriot?

CHAPTER VII.

I UNDERSTAND it is stated in Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet's "Memoirs of the Emmet Family," which have been published in America for private circulation, that Mrs. Holmes, wife of Robert Holmes, and sister of Robert Emmet, died in 1804. I have shown that her husband was imprisoned as a State prisoner until March, 1806, when there was a general release of prisoners. The crushing calamity of his wife's death fell upon Holmes during the darkest period of his life, when his hopes and prospects seemed utterly blighted by his protracted imprisonment and alleged complicity with the revolutionary movement. After his release, notwithstanding the misfortunes which had overtaken him, Holmes, by the exercise of that decisive energy of character for which he was noted, rose above the shadows that encircled his life, and asserting the full force of his genius, reached a pre-eminent position at the Irish Bar without ever seeking or obtaining a favour from any British Administration. His lamented wife left him one tender solicitude, an infant daughter named Elizabeth, called so after her maternal grandmother, Mrs. Emmet. We may readily believe that in Robert Holmes' after life he lavished his affection upon this one daughter, and that the absorbing task of his life was the performance of

those parental duties towards her by which she might attain in time to the intellectual perfection which had adorned her mother. It is said of her in Dr. T. A. Emmet's Memoirs that she was an author of great literary talent.*

Let us look through the telescope of time down the track of eighty-one years into the domestic life of Robert Holmes. In 1821, while he was living in 27 Gardiner's Place, the Census return for that year was presumably filled up by himself, and is interesting reading. The following names of the household appear: "Robert Holmes, Barrister (55); Harriett Lawrence, Sister † (30); Elizabeth Holmes, Daughter (19); John Freeman (30), House Servant; Mary Hughes (32), House Servant; Anne Brady (25), House Servant."

The Census return shows that Miss Holmes, being nineteen years old in 1821, was born in 1802. What a light the return throws on the domestic life of Holmes eighty-one years ago? Mr. Holmes' sister,

* Dr. Madden states that when "the projected Union was exciting general interest, two very remarkable pamphlets appeared," the authorship of which was attributed to Mrs. Holmes. One was sarcastically entitled "An Address to the People of Ireland, shewing them why they ought to submit to an Union." Dr. Madden states "this pamphlet is written with very great power, and its mode of *advocating* the Union may be gathered from its motto: 'Of comfort let no man speak; let's talk of graves, of worms, of epitaphs.'—*Shakespeare*."

† Dr. Madden mentions that in 1802, Robert Emmet called upon a Mr. Lawrence, at Andemar, between Caen and Honfleur, in Normandy, "saying that he had been travelling on foot and lost his way." The name "Lawrence" occurring in the Census may be more than a mere coincidence, and indicate that Mr. Lawrence and Mr. Holmes were connected.

Mrs. Lawrence, must have been housekeeping for him in 1821; thus we see with what steadfastness of affection Holmes clung to his wife's memory, and he so cherished her memory until the end came in 1859.

In the mysterious problem of Emmet's interment which I am trying to unravel, I would remind the reader that all the facts and incidents set forth in my previous Chapters, III., IV., V., and VI., go to show that Holmes was a man of irreproachable integrity and unsullied honour. This was the opinion of all his contemporaries, and I think that the reader will come to the conclusion that this incorruptible patriot never during his whole after-life retracted the principles with which he had been connected in 1803. So far from making a retraction of those imperishable principles, his conduct throughout his life was an emphatic sustainment of them up to the very hour of his death. If we believe these things, are we not almost irresistibly drawn to the conclusion that Holmes, who stood *in loco parentis* to Robert Emmet by being his father's executor, was, of all men, the man who carried out the sacred duty of placing his bones where they should *as of right rest*, in the grave of his father and mother in St. Peter's Churchyard, Aungier Street.

Robert Emmet had a profound affection for his father, as we see by the following passage from his immortal speech: "If the spirits," said the patriot, "participate in the concerns of those who were dear to them in this transitory scene, dear shade of my venerated father, look down upon your suffering son, and see has he for one moment deviated from these

moral and patriotic principles which you so early instilled into his youthful mind."

This memorable passage in the patriot's speech seems to indicate that his thoughts would have swayed towards the grave in St. Peter's, did we dare to assume that he contemplated leaving a direction behind him either expressly or impliedly binding Holmes (who loved his memory) to place his relics with those of his beloved father.

In analysing the motives which would have impelled Holmes to place the patriot's bones in St. Peter's, let us reflect upon the beautiful words in the peroration of Emmet's great speech: "My race is run—the grave opens to receive me, and I sink into its bosom."

If the patriot left no express direction behind him as to the actual place of his interment, *could Holmes have construed these words to mean the grave in St. Peter's*, or could it be possible that on the night before or morning of the fateful 20th September, 1803, and while fearlessly waiting within the gloomy Bastille of Kilmainham for the approach of death, the patriot communicated his last wishes to his faithful brother-in-law, to see that his bones should rest in the grave in St. Peter's? May we not assume that the patriot, having directed that his epitaph should not be written, gave an undisclosed direction as to being interred in his father's grave? We know that while he was awaiting "trial," an intercepted correspondence, published by Dr. Madden, passed between him and his first cousin and fellow-prisoner, St. John Mason, as to an intended escape from Kilmainham.

We may reasonably believe that the discipline of the jail on the fateful morning of the day of Emmet's death was, perhaps, somewhat relaxed, so as to allow the patriot an opportunity of conveying an eternal farewell to Holmes* and Mason. Surely, if so, Holmes would have been made the depository of the secret directions given by the patriot, who had only just heard from his traitorous counsel that his mother had died on the previous 9th September, and had been interred in St. Peter's with his father. The death of his mother becoming known to the patriot on the morning of the day he was being led to death, must have turned his thoughts to the grave in St. Peter's. All these incidents should be had regard to in endeavouring to ascertain the true place of Emmet's interment. Let us also consider whether any special trust to carry out the patriot's wishes would have been reposed in the two clergymen who attended him to the place where, on that memorable day, his brilliant life was to be blotted out for ever from the sum of human existence.

The *Dublin Evening Post* of 24th Sept., 1803, thus describes the tragedy: "Execution of Mr. Robert Emmet.—Tuesday, about three o'clock, Mr. Robert Emmet, who had been found guilty of High Treason on Monday, was conveyed under a strong guard from Kilmainham Jail, accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Grant

* Though no letter to Mr. or Mrs. Holmes has ever been disclosed, we may consider it almost certain, having regard to Emmet's softness of character, that he wrote to either of them. Two letters written 20th Sept., 1803, one to Miss Curran's father, and the other to her brother, Richard Curran, are extant.

and the Rev. Mr. Gamble, in a slow, solemn pace over Sarah's Bridge, and from thence along Barrack Street and over the Queen's Bridge, to Thomas Street, where a gallows had been erected. On their arrival at the fatal spot, the prisoner remained about twenty minutes in the carriage with the clergymen. He then ascended the platform with a firm, composed air, untied his neckcloth and adjusted the rope about his neck, after exclaiming: 'I die in peace with all mankind.' The fatal signal was given, when he was turned off. After hanging about thirty minutes his body was cut down, when the executioner performed the remaining part of the sentence. *His remains were afterwards conveyed to Newgate.*"

The *Freeman's Journal* of 22nd Sept., 1803, states: "His body *was afterwards taken in a cart to the New Prison,*" *i.e.*, Kilmainham.

One cannot reconcile the statement that the patriot's remains were conveyed to Newgate with the irrefutable evidence given by Dr. Madden in his Memoir of Emmet, and the statement made by the *Freeman's Journal*. Everything points to the fact that by a preconceived arrangement the utmost *intentional* secrecy accompanied the removal of the patriot's remains from Thomas Street on the evening or night of the 20th September, 1803. The Castle authorities had Emmet's remains carried back to Kilmainham Jail, which was in accordance with invariable practice. Dr. Madden states that Dunne, the ex-jailer of Kilmainham, sent him word in 1836, through old Leonard (Dr. Emmet's gardener), "that the body was conveyed to the jail and placed in the outer entrance of the

prison, with orders if not claimed immediately by the friends of Emmet to have it interred in Bully's Acre. . . . Dunne stated that notwithstanding his orders, he kept the body for several hours expecting it would be claimed by the friends of the deceased.

"The only surviving friends who were connections of Robert Emmet [*i.e.*, Holmes, St. John Mason, and Patten] were then in jail, with the exception of one, Dr. Powell, who was married to a cousin of Emmet's. . . . His associates or acquaintances who had fortunately escaped being involved in the general ruin which had fallen on so many of his friends were afraid at that time to let it be known that they had any acquaintance with Emmet; consequently none came forward, and the remains were at length buried beside the grave of Felix Rourke, near the right-hand corner of the burying-ground next the avenue of the Royal Hospital, close to the wall, and at no great distance from the former entrance, which is now built up. While the body lay at the jail, a gentleman from Dublin, whose name Dunne did not mention, came there and asked permission to take a plaster-cast of the face of the deceased, which was granted. That gentleman, circumstances will show, was Petric, the artist. Dunne further stated, *what I was already aware of*, that the remains of Robert Emmet soon after their interment in Bully's Acre, *were removed with great privacy and buried in Dublin*. Dr. Gamble was said to have been present or to have assisted in carrying into effect their removal. But where they were removed to no positive information is to be obtained. Mr. P. remembers to have seen the man

who removed the body to Kilmainham, *and the impression on his mind is that the interment took place in St. Michan's Churchyard, where the Sheares were interred.*"

I ask the reader how any impression can occur to him upon reading the above, save that "Mr. P." (Mr. John Patten, T. A. Emmet's brother-in-law,) was suppressing the real fact that Robert Emmet's remains were, after exhumation in Bully's Acre, interred in the grave of his father and mother in St. Peter's Churchyard, Aungier Street. John Patten, from his connection with the Emmet family, well knew the family grave was in St. Peter's, and if he was favouring Dr. Madden's inquiries, *why did he not then tell him of the grave in St. Peter's, and moreover, why did he not tell him that Robert Emmet's sister, Mrs. Holmes, had been interred in St. Peter's in 1804?* We may clearly infer that concealment was what was most aimed at by Robert Emmet's friends, including Holmes, when Dr. Madden was prosecuting his inquiries nearly thirty-five years after the patriot's death. It is strange that no one seems to have had the temerity to approach Mr. Holmes on the subject.

Of far greater importance than all these, in themselves very strong, presumptions in favour of St. Peter's Churchyard being the true place of Emmet's interment, is the great clue which is now afforded by the undoubted fact that Mrs. Holmes, dying in 1804, when her husband was in jail, *was buried secretly in St. Peter's with her father and mother.*

Mr. Holmes must have been informed while he was in jail of his wife's death. He had all the privileges

of an untried prisoner, being merely detained in custody by the Executive Government because of the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. No trace whatever of his wife's death appears in *Walker's Hibernian Magazine* for 1804, the year of her death, or in the newspapers of that year. Holmes must have given explicit directions while in jail as to the place of his wife's interment. There is no record in the Parochial Registers of St. Anne's, St. Michan's, or St. George's, of her interment, neither is there a record in St. Peter's. Let us try to discover how this mysteriously significant omission occurred. That it occurred owing to a representation being made to the clergy of St. Peter's Parish on the occasion of Mrs. Holmes' interment in 1804 is certain.

The Vicar of St. Peter's was the Rev. Vere Essex Quaile, 38 Bishop Street, and the curates the Rev. Thomas Lyster, D.D., 35 York Street; and Rev. John Lewis, A.B., Camden Street. The clergymen who had attended Robert Emmet in his last moments in Thomas Street were, as before stated, the Rev. John Grant, M.A., and Rev. Mr. Gamble. I find that the Rev. Mr. Grant, the only clergyman of that name then in the Dublin Diocese, was Prebendary (in St. Patrick's) of Kilmactalway, *i.e.*, Clondalkin, from 1800 to 1815, and that he died on 7th June, 1815, aged fifty years, and was buried in Clondalkin, Co. Dublin. One Benjamin Grant appears to have been a churchwarden of St. Peter's, with Counsellor Richard Guinness, in 1803 and 1804. This similarity of surnames in the persons of one of the churchwardens of St. Peter's, and one of the clergymen who attended

Emmet in his last moment, is a significant circumstance. It may indicate that they were relations. The Rev. Mr. Gamble was curate of St. Michan's in 1803, and Chaplain to Newgate. He was a friend of the Emmet family, and was of course very familiar with T. A. Emmet when he was a State Prisoner in Newgate in 1798.

Nothing is more probable than that if a request were made by some of the connections of the Emmet family, or on their behalf, to omit recording Mrs. Holmes' interment in St. Peter's, it would have been complied with. *Why was it omitted?* Miltown, where Dr. Emmet's country house was situated, was partly in Taney and partly in St. Peter's parishes in 1803. Moreover, the Emmet family had been long parishioners while living in Stephen's Green. It seems certain that the omission of Mrs. Holmes' interment in the records of St. Peter's was deliberately arranged for, in consonance with the policy of concealment. Mr. Grant and Counsellor Guinness appear to have been thanked by the vestry in 1803 and 1804 "for their many services" during those years to the parish, and it may be assumed that the churchwardens and the parochial clergy would have at once sympathetically acquiesced in any request to have Mrs. Holmes' interment accompanied with every secrecy. *Why should all this secrecy have been necessary when Mrs. Holmes was being interred in St. Peter's in 1804*, as admitted by Dr. Madden? The only answer is that the exhumation of the remains of Robert Emmet, as incontestably shown by Dr. Madden, took place at the time Mrs. Holmes was being interred,

which was, perhaps, early in 1804. If this were so, the patriot's remains must have been laid with hers, both on the same day *or night*, in the unmarked grave of their father and mother in St. Peter's. Thus would the testament of the patriot have been fulfilled by the noble Robert Holmes, his faithful and trusted friend, he who, keeping the secret until the end, allowed the grave of the wife of his bosom to remain in obscurity. Surely he did this to comply with the testament of him who sleeps in the same grave?

CHAPTER VIII.

THE extraordinary fact that during the fifty-five years for which Robert Holmes survived his wife no monument was inscribed by him to her memory, forces upon our minds that he had some mysterious motive to conceal the place of her interment in St. Peter's. When we review some circumstances referred to in my previous chapters, I hardly think it will be possible to come to the conclusion which might occur to some readers, that Holmes' remissness had no special significance, but would rather be attributable to that indifference such as we find often exhibited in the course of our every-day experience to the memory of those who are gone. We see in the bequest by Miss Catherine Emmet in her will of 1815, "To my cousin, Elizabeth Holmes, daughter of the said Robert Holmes, the brooch containing her mother's hair, set round with pearls," that Miss Emmet held the memory of her aunt Holmes in tender regard. This bequest also indicates that Miss Emmet knew that her cousin, Miss Holmes, would view this relic of her mother with deep affection. Surely if Miss Emmet thought that the memory of her aunt, Mrs. Holmes, had not been treasured up by Robert Holmes and his daughter, she would never have passed on the relic to Miss Holmes; neither would she have bequeathed



THE EMMET FAMILY GRAVE IN ST. PETER'S CHURCHYARD.



£500 "to her esteemed uncle and friend, Robert Holmes"?

Miss Emmet must have known what the reasons were that impelled Holmes to allow the grave of his wife in St. Peter's to remain without an inscribed headstone. When her aunt Holmes died in 1804, Miss Emmet must have been about seventeen years of age, as her father, Christopher Temple Emmet, was married in 1784, and died in 1788. She describes herself in her will of 1815 as "the only surviving child of Christopher Temple Emmet." In 1807, as appears by the deed of 13th May, 1807, referred to in my sixth chapter, relating to the mortgages on Mr. St. John Mason's estate, she was described as being "a minor under the age of twenty-one years." It seems well-nigh certain that Miss Emmet attended the death-bed of her aunt Holmes, who died at the early age of thirty-one, and we may well believe that the precious lock of hair was cut off with her own hands from her aunt's tresses when

"Like blossomed trees o'erturned by vernal storm,
Lovely in death the beauteous ruin lay."

The sword of death had struck the household in the lonely time when he who was its head lay in prison.* Who in this time of misfortune was to take the place of the departed one? Mrs. Patten and

* It has been stated that Mr. Holmes was released after about twelve months' imprisonment, and that his wife answering his ring at the door, dropped dead in his arms as he entered his own house. However, the fact of Miss Emmet having the lock of Mrs. Holmes' hair clearly indicates that Holmes was in jail when his wife died.

Miss Emmet were the only near connections upon whom the duty of looking after Mr. Holmes' household would have fallen while he was in jail. I cannot see that there could have been any other friends in closer association with Mr. Holmes' family. Mrs. Patten (the wife of John Patten, then a State prisoner) and Miss Emmet must have had a full knowledge of the incidental details of Mrs. Holmes' *secret* interment in St. Peter's. Judging by Mr. Holmes having witnessed Miss Emmet's signature to a deed of 16th October, 1802, referred to in Chapter VI., we may conclude, having regard to her youth and being an orphan, that she was either living in Mr. Holmes' house or her grandfather's, Dr. Emmet's house. It seems beyond all doubt that, in 1804, Mrs. Holmes died in Bloomfield, Donnybrook, the new residence of Mrs. Emmet after the sale of Casino to Mr. Pike. Mr. and Mrs. Holmes had previously lived in Casino during Dr. Emmet's lifetime, and after his death, when the family removed to Bloomfield, Mr. and Mrs. Holmes continued to reside there with Mrs. Emmet. After Dr. Emmet's death on 9th December, 1802, it is safe to assume that Miss Catherine Emmet was under the guardianship of Mr. Holmes, in Bloomfield, Donnybrook. This seems to make it clear how she came to have a lock of her Aunt Holmes' hair in 1815, and it moreover shows that she, and she only, had the precious relic. Holmes, being in jail when his wife died in 1804, could not have procured such a relic, and his daughter was then only an infant of two years old.

Mrs. Patten must have been in close touch with

the household in Bloomfield at Mrs. Holmes' death. She was certainly on familiar terms with the Emmet family, and she is affectionately mentioned in a letter dated 26th October, 1801, from Mrs. Emmet to her son, Thomas Addis Emmet, while he was in Fort St. George, Scotland. I press upon the reader's attention the very significant circumstance of her husband, Mr. Patten, being so mysteriously silent as to Mrs. Holmes having died in 1804, and her interment in St. Peter's, when he had the communications with Dr. Madden and Mr. Fitzpatrick. *It is a most suggestive circumstance, that in these conversations he seems intentionally to have left St. Peter's Churchyard unmentioned, and did not consider it desirable to add to his statement that Robert Emmet's sister, Mrs. Holmes, had died in 1804, and was buried in St. Peter's about the time Emmet's body was exhumed from Bully's Acre.*

Mr. Patten not having mentioned one word about Mrs. Holmes' death in 1804, or the place of her interment, is to my mind, in itself, a most striking circumstance and speaks volumes.

Mr. Fitzpatrick in his interesting book, "The Sham Squire, and the Informers of 1798," thus records his interview with Mr. Patten: "We had the pleasure, soon after, of a conversation with John Patten, then in his eighty-seventh year. This gentleman was the brother-in-law of Thomas Addis Emmet. He told me that having been a State Prisoner in 1803, he was not present at Emmet's funeral. He had no authentic information on the subject, *but according to his impression*, Robert Emmet had been buried in Bully's Acre—also known as the Hospital Fields; and that

the remains were thence removed to Michan's Churchyard where the ashes of Bond and the Sheares rest. He added that Dr. Gamble, the clergyman who attended Emmet in his last moments, was a very likely person to have got the remains removed from Bully's Acre to St. Michan's. The uninscribed tomb is said to have been set up in St. Michan's Churchyard soon after the period that Mr. Patten believes the remains of Emmet to have been removed from Bully's Acre."

Now, as regards the uninscribed stone in St. Michan's, Mr. Fitzpatrick quotes in his book a correspondent of the *Irishman* newspaper who asked whether the "uninscribed tomb of Robert Emmet is the one pointed out in St. Michan's Churchyard." Then he added, "I am aware that the question has been often asked, and, as appeared to me, not satisfactorily answered. I arrived at this conclusion owing to the absence of any information by members of the Emmet family. My reason for asking the question is, being in the vestry of St. Peter's, Dublin, some short time ago, I was told by the men connected therewith that Emmet was *positively* interred close to the footpath (left gate) or near to where the old watch-house stood, *and was pointed out to them, as they stated, by some member or acquaintance of the family from America some years ago.* If there be nothing for it but the uninscribed tomb of Michan's, I would be inclined to think that Peter's was the place, as tombs of the above description are not so very rare."

The reader will note that Mr. Fitzpatrick published his book in 1865, two years before the completion of

the re-building of St. Peter's Church. The *Irishman's* correspondent may have procured this information a year before, but the particulars given by him of the Emmet family grave in St. Peter's substantially bear out what I stated in my first chapter, viz.: that the grave of Dr. Emmet and his wife and son, C. T. Emmet, in St. Peter's, is between the solitary shrub just within the railing and the garden seat on the left-hand side.* The *Irishman's* correspondent's description in 1864 or 1865 is "close to the footpath (left gate) or near to where the old watch-house stood."

About 1867 the ground was raised about two feet so as to be on the same level with Aungier Street, and the footpath was extended to the wall on the left-hand side, the surface of the ground between the footpath and the wall being gravelled and taken into the path. Thus the Emmet grave between the old path and the wall was obliterated. The description given by the *Irishman's* correspondent, and the testimony of the present sexton, whose memory goes back to 1847, enables the exact site of the grave to be located.

I regard the competitive claims of St. Michan's Churchyard and Old Glasnevin, together with the intentional suppression of information by the immediate friends of the patriot, as being the real cause of the attention of Irishmen being drawn away from St. Peter's Churchyard on the absorbing subject of Emmet's interment. The claims of St. Michan's and Old Glasnevin are, to my mind, entirely untenable.

* I am informed by the Rev. Mr. Robinson, M.A., of St. Peter's, and the sexton, that the grave is really a vault which has since been covered over, the slab being underneath.

I think I am correct in saying that St. Michan's has no reliable evidence in its favour except that it was the church to which the Rev. Thomas Gamble was attached as curate, who was also chaplain of Newgate close by. There is no doubt that the Rev. Mr. Gamble, who attended the brother Sheares when they died for Ireland, arranged their secret interment in the vaults of St. Michan's Church, and intentionally omitted the record of their interment in the Parochial Register.

Dr. Gamble was a friend of the Emmet family, and we may, with certainty, believe he was the clergyman who carried out the re-interment of Robert Emmet. Of that re-interment there need be no doubt whatever. All the accounts agree upon this one point. Our having come to this conclusion is not, however, a justification for arriving at a further conclusion that Emmet was re-interred in St. Michan's. On the contrary, I think the discerning reader must only conclude that the patriot's remains lie in St. Peter's. Surely his patriotic sister, Mrs. Holmes, never would have been satisfied that her beloved brother should sleep in an unknown grave apart from his parents? Can we conclude that it was a request of Mrs. Holmes that inspired the Rev. Dr. Gamble to exhume the remains of the patriot, and place them in the grave in St. Peter's? *Where else should they be laid?* If it is admitted, and it must be, that the remains of Robert Emmet were exhumed by Dr. Gamble, surely a weaker case never existed than that claimed for his interment in St. Michan's? Would Dr. Gamble have dared to disturb the bones of the patriot in Bully's Acre unless he had an

express direction from his relatives? *Where would they have wished them laid?* Surely if we form our opinion from an analysis of human motive, bearing in mind the influence that family affection would have exercised over the event of Emmet's re-interment, and the selection of his final resting place, we may conclude, having regard to the weight of evidence now afforded in favour of St. Peter's Graveyard, that there, and there only, beside the busy street where the hum of our city life is heard, the remains of one of the noblest of our patriots rest until the great trumpet shall sound.

CHAPTER IX.

AN analysis of the statements made by Mr. John Patten to Dr. Madden between 1836 and 1859 seems to make it clear that the immediate friends of the patriot desired that his last resting-place should rest in obscurity.

It will be found upon a comparison of Mr. Patten's several statements that they do not quite fit in with each other, not indeed that I suggest they contain any misrepresentations. They do, however, give strength to an impression which might naturally form in some readers' minds that Mr. Patten knew much more about the interment of Robert Emmet than he cared to make known.

Before the year 1859 two statements appear to have been made by Mr. Patten. The first was that "he remembered to have seen the man who removed the body from Kilmainham, and the impression on his (Mr. Patten's) mind is, that the interment took place in St. Michan's Churchyard." My own view is that the fact of Mr. Patten not then even hazarding an expression of opinion in favour of St. Peter's is of much significance.

The second statement was made by a letter in 1846 to Dr. Madden to this effect: "When I was liberated

from Kilmainham I could not find out where he was buried, but I have *heard* that his remains were brought to Michan's vaults from Bully's Acre, where they were first interred." I would remark here that as Mr. Patten believed there was a re-interment *somewhere*, his omission to even whisper a suggestion that the grave of Emmet's father and mother in St. Peter's was not an unlikely spot for his bones to be laid is in itself a circumstance of importance.

In conversation with Dr. Madden in August, 1859, Mr. Patten seems to have been less reserved, as he then stated, "he was arrested some weeks previously to the death of Robert Emmet, and was confined at first in the house of one of the State messengers, James Boyle, in Great Ship Street. At the expiration of some weeks he was removed to Kilmainham *the day after the execution of Robert Emmet* and was allotted the guardroom. . . . It was no time for asking questions of the jail officials about executed persons. He learned nothing from them about the disposal of the remains of Robert; but in the morning of the day after the execution, while he was yet at the house of the messenger in Great Ship Street, Mrs. Patten (his mother) came to him and told him that the porter of Mr. William Colville (his uncle) and himself (Mr. Patten), for they were in partnership carrying on business at the Bachelor's Walk, told her that he had buried Robert Emmet's remains—that he had taken them from the prison in Kilmainham—where they had been taken after the execution, and had buried them in Bully's Acre. . . . The porter's name was Lynam. He was a very trustworthy and truthful

person. He left two boys when he died. Subsequently Mr. Patten *heard* the body was removed to St. Michan's." The reader will here again observe that although Mr. Patten had only vaguely heard that St. Michan's was the place of Emmet's interment, he still, as in his previous statements, remained profoundly reticent about St. Peter's.

About the same time there seems to have been another conversation between Mr. Patten and Dr. Madden. It took place on the occasion of their both visiting Kilmainham Jail in August, 1859, and is as follows: "On entering the vestibule of the prison, Mr. Patten, without any hesitation or inquiry, stepped up to a door, the first on entering on the left-hand side, and recognised that room, rather than cell, for it was not ordinarily used as a cell, though Mr. Patten had been placed in confinement in it, and actually slept in the bed of Robert Emmet *the night following his execution*. It is now quite different in its appearance to what he remembered it. When he entered the room, Robert's bed was just as he had slept in it *the night before*, and there he (Mr. Patten) slept, *and Robert had not been dead many hours when he lay there*. It should be here observed that Patten rather contradictorily stated in this conversation that he arrived in Kilmainham *the night following Emmet's execution*, whereas he had stated in the other conversation that he had arrived there *the day after*.

We may assume from the terseness of Mr. Patten's first two statements that up to 1859 he had regarded the porter Lynam's communication to Mrs. Patten as a matter not to be mentioned. He seems to have

simply contented himself with saying in his first statement that "he remembered to have seen the man who removed the body from Kilmainham." This man was Mr. Patten's employe; yet Mr. Patten ambiguously disposed of the matter by merely saying he had "seen the man." How inexplicable? May we suppose that Mr. Patten's strange reserve was owing to a wish not to hurt the susceptibilities of Mr. Holmes? Dr. Madden in his protracted inquiries does not seem to have approached Mr. Holmes, which, in itself, is a striking instance of how impenetrable Holmes' mind was on the subject. We have, however, Mr. Patten first admitting that he had "seen the man" (his own employe) who had removed the body from Kilmainham. Then, in his second statement, he mentions that when he was liberated he was unable to find where Emmet was buried. This may, however, have meant Emmet's final interment, not the temporary burial in Bully's Acre. We may well ask what were the special reasons that induced Mr. Patten to offer such guarded expressions of opinion before 1859, and for omitting all reference to the family grave in St. Peter's, and to Lynam's communication to Mrs. Patten. One would think that if Mr. Patten were well assured that St. Peter's was *not* the place of Emmet's interment he would have for ever set any doubts at rest that might have favoured St. Peter's. Merely having heard that Emmet was interred in St. Michan's was a wholly insufficient reason for his strange omission of all reference to St. Peter's.

It may well be believed that Mr. Patten, in all his expressions of opinion, was guided by a wish not

to say anything except what would have had Mr. Holmes' approval. Patten and Holmes, from their kinship and mutual friendship formed in their intercourse with the Emmet family, as well as from their association in misfortune, may be considered to have remained close friends until the end. A letter of 29th July, 1820, from T. A. Emmet to Patten, shows that the latter acted as T. A. Emmet's agent, and in an earlier letter of 23rd July, 1808, from T. A. Emmet to Patten, the former states "my only correspondents except on business being yourself and Holmes." The latter, as the reader will remember, was Dr. Emmet's executor, so that he and Patten must have been also acting together in the business affairs of the Emmet family. Dr. Madden mentions that he had an account in his possession of all the moneys received by T. A. Emmet from his brother-in-law, John Patten, from 5th May, 1800, to 17th October, 1806, amongst which was the payment to him of £850, received from Mr. Sherlock on 22nd April, 1802, for 109 and 110 Stephen's Green, now 124 and 125, the assignment of which Mr. Holmes executed.

Let us now consider the terms of the two conversations between Mr. Patten and Dr. Madden in 1859, thirteen years after Mr. Patten's cautious letter in 1846. We find that Mr. Patten had somewhat relaxed his accustomed caution, at least to this extent, that for the first time he then mentioned the actual circumstances of the patriot's temporary interment in Bully's Acre as related by his (Mr. Patten's) employe, Lynam, to Mrs. Patten. Why did Mr. Patten wait for so many years before disclosing what his mother

had told him about Lynam removing the remains of the patriot to Bully's Acre? Are we to conclude that Mr. Patten had become less reserved because Mr. Holmes, the only man most concerned in keeping the family secret of Emmet's interment, had well nigh closed his long life and was residing in London—dying a few months afterwards.

Dr. Madden must have been putting very searching questions to Mr. Patten in August, 1859, as to whether he asked the jail officials, when he was confined in the guardroom, to tell him where the remains of his kinsman had been laid. Mr. Patten had stated, "Robert had not been dead many hours when he lay there," and he appears as if avoiding a direct answer, to have petulantly replied to Dr. Madden: "*It was no time for asking questions of the jail officials about executed persons.*" How strange this reply seems to be when we bear in mind that the jail officials allowed a stranger, Mr. Petrie, to take a cast of the face of the patriot while the remains were lying just beside the guardroom in the vestibule or outer entry of the prison? Why, therefore, should there have been any special unwillingness on the part of the jail officials to give information to Mr. Patten, who was an untried prisoner and interned in a room, not a cell, on the ground floor just inside the entrance to the prison, and thus may be said to have had favourable opportunities for obtaining information? Are we to believe that the jailer, Dunne, and Dr. Trevor—however treacherously they acted to Robert Emmet in leading him to believe he could escape from the jail, as mentioned by Dr. Madden—would

have both withheld from Mr. Patten all they must have known about Emmet's interment? Yet not a word from Mr. Patten!

We have next to consider which of Mr. Patten's two statements in 1859 is correct. Did he arrive in Kilmainham "the day after the execution of Robert Emmet," or did he sleep in the bed of Robert Emmet "the night following his execution"—Robert Emmet's bed being "just as he had slept in it the night before, and there he (Mr. Patten) slept, and Robert had not been dead many hours before when he lay there"? In all reason, what conclusion are we to draw from these contradictory statements save one that constrains us to believe that Mr. Patten knew more than he allowed to transpire? Why was Mr. Patten so hurriedly transferred by the Castle authorities to the guardroom in Kilmainham on the night of the fateful 20th September, 1803, or on the next day, which is more unlikely? Was it an act of cruelty on the part of the Chief Secretary, Mr. Wickham? We have a magnanimous statement from Emmet himself which leads us to infer that the Chief Secretary was not as a man personally cruel, execrable as was the policy of which he was the instrument. What object was there in transferring Mr. Patten to Kilmainham so soon after the patriot's death, when actually his mutilated remains might have met Mr. Patten's view upon entering the prison? Let the reader strive to answer these questions as best he can. In doing so, I think he will conclude that all the incidents which I have reviewed forcibly point out this one great fact—that Patten and Holmes, the two most immediate

friends of the patriot, desired that his grave should be left in oblivion, and that the one object they had in view throughout their lives was that his last wishes might be sacredly fulfilled and his epitaph remain unwritten.

CHAPTER X.

THE claims of Old Glasnevin Churchyard to be regarded as the final resting-place of the patriot, have attracted some interest, owing to Dr. Madden affirming in the declining days of his life that he was interred there. Mr. Fitzpatrick also much contributed to throw a halo of mysterious interest around Old Glasnevin, by his recital of an alleged "midnight burial" in his book, "The Sham Squire and the Informers of '98," and strengthened his case by the publication of a letter from Dr. Petrie, affirming his belief in Old Glasnevin.

Mr. Fitzpatrick thus tells the story :—" A literary friend of ours, Mr. Hercules Ellis, was speaking of Emmet and the uninscribed tomb at a dinner party, when a gentleman present corrected the error under which he conceived Mr. Ellis laboured, respecting the place of his burial. 'It was not in St. Michan's Churchyard,' he said, 'but in Glasnevin, and I speak on the best authority, for my late father was the Incumbent there at the time, and I repeatedly heard him say that he was brought out of his bed at the dead of night to perform the burial service over Emmet. There were only four persons present, two women and two men.' One of the men he under-

stood to be Dowdall, the natural son of Hussey Burgh, and one of the ladies, Sarah Curran, who had been betrothed to Emmet. *The corpse was conveyed through a little narrow door into the old Churchyard of Glasnevin, from the handsome demesne of Delville, formerly the residence of Dean Delany.*"

It will be perceived that the gentleman who is alleged to have related this improbable story to Mr. Fitzpatrick's literary friend, Mr. Ellis, stated that his father was Incumbent of Glasnevin in 1803. In this connection the reader will notice that neither Mr. Ellis nor Mr. Fitzpatrick thought it of any importance to follow up what might have led to an unerring clue, leading to actual proof of the genuineness of the "midnight burial" story, by inquiring who was the Incumbent of Glasnevin in 1803, or at least stating the name of Mr. Ellis' informant.

My researches enable me to say that the Rev. Travers Hume was licensed as perpetual Curate of Glasnevin Parish on the 19th April, 1785. He died in 1805, and was succeeded by the Rev. Crenis Irwin, Vicar of St. Mark's Church, Brunswick Street. The Rev. Robert Disney seems to have acted as Stipendiary Curate under Mr. Hume and Mr. Irwin.* Therefore, if the conversation related did take place—and its credibility is open to the strongest objection—either of the two clergymen, Rev. Mr. Hume and Rev. Mr. Disney, must have officiated at the alleged "midnight burial" of Robert Emmet. It has not

* I have obtained this information through the courtesy of the Rev. W. Reynell, B.A.

since transpired, and never will, that the gentleman who was so communicative *after dinner*, was the son of any one of the clergymen I have named. How strange this is, and yet Mr. Fitzpatrick called him without inquiry "the clergyman's son." The reader must, I think, come to the conclusion that the *after dinner* story in question is really a fiction from beginning to end. It is well within human experience that after dinner occasions sometimes develop the imaginative faculty. However, Mr. Fitzpatrick and Mr. Ellis seem to have regarded the conversation as being of some importance, as it led them to both visit Old Glasnevin in 1865.

Mr. Fitzpatrick thus records the visit:—"With interest awakened by this tradition, we visited the classic grounds of Delville, and the old graveyard adjacent, accompanied by Mr. Ellis, the great-grandson of the wife of Dean Delany, to the memory of whom a tablet almost smothered in ivy is set in the Churchyard wall—the boundary which divides their former residence from their final resting-place. We learned from the gardener who acted as cicerone, that there was a tradition precisely to the effect of the statement made by the clergyman's son. Our conductor having unlocked a narrow door which leads to the little cemetery, pointed out a grass grown grave and uninscribed headstone immediately to the left on entering." Mr. Fitzpatrick then quotes the pathetic lines of Moore:—

"Oh, breathe not his name,"

and creates a possible misapprehension in the mind

of a reader by suggesting that the poet could only have referred to Old Glasnevin, in the lines :—

“As the night dew that falls on the grass o'er his head,”

And—

“Shall brighten with verdure the grave where he sleeps,”

being entirely unmindful of the varied range of expression allowable by poetical licence.

What, perhaps, raises the strongest presumption in favour of Old Glasnevin Churchyard is a letter to Mr. Fitzpatrick in 1865 from Dr. Petrie as follows :—

“7 CHARLEMONT PLACE,
10th Nov., 1865.

“MY DEAR SIR,—According to my recollections and belief, derived from the best local authorities, the grave of poor Emmet is in the Churchyard of Glasnevin, and is situated at one side, the left I think, of a private doorway, which gave to the family occupying Delville House a direct passage to the Church, and thus enabled them to avoid coming round through the town to the service.—Believe me, my dear Sir, most truly yours,
“GEORGE PETRIE.”

“P.S.—The above was written before I read the printed paper you enclosed.”

Arising out of this letter the reader will do well to consider what were the opportunities Dr. Petrie had before 1865 of procuring really reliable information. He grounded his opinion upon his “recollections and belief,” but as to his opportunities of obtaining information from the family connections of Robert Emmet, he had not a tittle more than any other man of his time.

In one respect his opportunities might be said to be even more limited, as it may be rightly conjectured that Holmes, Patten, and Mason were somewhat incensed against Dr. Petrie's father, the elder Petrie, for having, without the family sanction, taken a death-mask of the patriot in Kilmainham on the evening of the eventful 20th Sept., 1803. In doing so the elder Petrie may have acted with the patriotic intention of handing down to posterity the lineaments of the patriot, yet his motive was liable to be misconstrued by the immediate friends of Emmet. It has been said, I believe entirely without foundation, that the elder Petrie carried away the head of the patriot. The merest rumour that this had occurred, no matter how unfounded the rumour might be, would have naturally grieved Emmet's dearest friends, Holmes, Patten, and Mason. How, then, can Dr. Petrie's letter be relied on at all, when we now know that Robert Holmes preserved an immutable silence during his long life, and that Patten, Mason, and the other friends of the patriot, almost inexorably followed the example set them by Holmes? Upon his own showing, Dr. Petrie's information is derived from "the best local authorities." Taking this for granted, we may ask, "When did Dr. Petrie make his inquiries? Of whom were they made? Were they reliable?"*

* I have been favoured by the kindness of T. D. Sullivan, Esq., with a perusal of an extract from a letter, stating that the celebrated Peter Burrowes, K.C. (one of Emmet's counsel), had informed the brother of the writer of the letter, that Emmet was interred in Old Glasnevin Churchyard. The writer mentions that T. A. Emmet had corresponded for years with Burrowes. T. A. Emmet's letter of 23rd

We have a definite impression forcibly brought to our minds when we read D'Alton's "History of the County Dublin," that when D'Alton wrote in 1833 concerning his visit to Old Glasnevin Churchyard, there was not a trace of the alleged local tradition that Emmet had been interred there. Surely if there was a tradition when Mr. Fitzpatrick wrote in 1865, *it would have been more alive in 1833?* The eminent historian of the County Dublin visited Old Glasnevin Churchyard about 1833, and his visit, unlike that of Mr. Fitzpatrick and Mr. Ellis thirty-two years afterwards, was not a mere cursory one.

Mr. D'Alton refers to monuments of interest in the Churchyard, and I quote his reference to them in order to show how certain it is that he would have referred to the alleged uninscribed headstone *if it was standing in 1833 where it is now.*

Mr. D'Alton describes his visit thus :—"Glasnevin, once the residence of the celebrated Dean Delany, where that learned divine assembled his coterie of wits in the Augustan age of Queen Anne; where the beautiful and enduring Stella charmed the feast; where Southern has frequently sojourned, and in whose immediate vicinity Addison, Sheridan, Parnell, and Tickell have resided. . . . The Church is a plain

July, 1808, referred to in Chapter IX., would, however, go to show that, excepting Patten and Holmes, he had no private correspondents in Ireland. This evidence in favour of Old Glasnevin, may, therefore, be impugned as a whole, owing to its proved inaccuracy in the respect referred to. I think it is apparent to the reader that so carefully guarded was the secret of Emmet's interment by his immediate friends, that even Burrowes could not have known where his resting-place was.

edifice, but the identical one with little alteration in which Dean Delany officiated. . . . A flag in the wall near the entrance states it was built in 1707."

The historian notices monuments and mural slabs within the Church to George Cockburn in 1773, William Orr Hamilton in 1817; and in the Graveyard the monuments of Dr. Barrett and Sir Henry Jebb, M.D. He also notices in the outer gable wall of the Church, slabs to Walter Fitzsimon in 1690, and to George Clayton in 1695. The tomb of Dr. and Mrs. Delany, *just beside the alleged Emmet grave*, is referred to thus: "While in a corner of the Churchyard is a large monumental stone commemorative to the before-mentioned Dr. Delany and his lady. . . . The position of this monument is singularly impressive. It is inserted in the boundary wall that divides the Doctor's ancient demesne from the Graveyard, in the side wall of that very temple which his wife had so affectionately decorated, and where they both had passed the happiest hours of social enjoyment. Poussin's celebrated picture of Arcadia, the moral sublimity of the tomb in its perspective and the touching epitaph 'I, too, was in Arcadia,' could not be more powerfully illustrated on the occasion. It was a scene to affect the deepest feelings, and as the foot glided through the luxuriant herbage of the Churchyard, a tumultuous and awful sensation seemed to suggest that the matter, which once composed the frames of those who were beneath, was now, by some vegetable transmission, freshening in the grass, blooming in the flowers, or drooping in the shrubs above them."

Mr. D'Alton's soliloquy may be considered somewhat outside the scope of my subject, but in so far as it indicates that he had a temperament likely to be attracted by a tradition of Emmet's interment, I think the quotation is not inappropriate. Thirty years had passed away after the patriot's death when D'Alton visited Old Glasnevin. He was actually standing *beside* the alleged grave of Emmet when the thoughts he has given expression to were passing through his mind, the Delany mural monument, described by him, being situate at the corner on the left-hand side when one is facing—to quote Mr. Fitzpatrick's description—"the narrow door which leads to the little cemetery," and the alleged Emmet grave is immediately to the right-hand side of the door. It is curious that Mr. D'Alton should mention that he, too, talked (as Mr. Fitzpatrick and Mr. Ellis did thirty-two years later) with the gardener in Delville during his visit. How strange it is that the Delville gardener in 1833 had no tradition of Emmet's interment to relate to Mr. D'Alton? Suppose that the gardener of 1833 knew of the tradition and communicated it, is it not certain that Mr. D'Alton would have mentioned the deeply interesting subject? Naturally when he was visiting Delville and Old Glasnevin Churchyard, he was anxious to become acquainted with every detail of their local history. It would seem that he visited Delville first, and passed into the Graveyard through the narrow door referred to. Surely those accompanying him from Delville would have told him about the alleged Emmet grave if the legend was then in

existence? We may well believe that Mr. D'Alton's responsive sympathies would have been awakened by the tale. I think the reader may conclude from Mr. D'Alton not having mentioned the "tradition," that not even a shred of it was in existence in 1833.

It will interest the reader to know that Mr. George Harley Kirke, ex-M.P. for Dundalk, has stated that the uninscribed headstone in Old Glasnevin was, years ago, lying about in the cemetery, and that it was afterwards erected where it now stands.* It is said that the then Rector placed it in its present position so as to have it out of the way. Any person who observes the stone will perceive that it is only about two feet from the edge of the path, and even Dr. T. A. Emmet, in his "Memoirs of the Emmet family," remarks that if the story is true, the grave must have been dug directly across the path.

The really important step in ascertaining the truth or untruth of the Old Glasnevin "tradition" was to discover who had lived in Delville House in 1803. This necessary initial proceeding by those who wrote on the fascinating subject of Emmet's burial-place seems not to have received their attention. It has fallen to my lot to secure this information. I have in my possession the first and third editions of that extremely scarce book, "The Post Chaise Companion or Travellers' Directory." The first edition was published about 1787, when the Duke of Rutland was the English Viceroy; the third edition in 1803 by J. and J. H. Fleming of Dublin. The book is of

* I am indebted to a well-known antiquarian, James Collins, Esq., for this information.

unquestionable authority, giving main roads, and cross roads, and mentions many residences and the names of the occupiers. Classic Delville is mentioned in the 1803 edition thus:—"On the right is the house and gardens of the late Dean Delany, so often mentioned by Dean Swift, *now in the possession of Mr. Babington Westlake.*" In an 1805 edition there is a similar description.

I think it will be conceded that this information is of the utmost importance, for the following reasons: Mr. Fitzpatrick, in recording Mr. Ellis' *after dinner* conversation with his friend, "the clergyman's son," states: "*The corpse was conveyed through a little narrow door leading into the old Churchyard of Glasnevin from the handsome demesne of Delville.*" Some association or friendship must, therefore, be shown between Mr. Babington Westlake and Robert Emmet's immediate friends. Not a trace of such association or friendship can be shown. This being so, how is it possible that we can place our faith in Mr. Fitzpatrick's alluring fiction, the "midnight burial"? Had Robert Emmet been interred in Old Glasnevin, it would not have become a mere shadowy tradition, but would have been well known to many residents? The lodge keeper and his little household at Delville gate would have known it, as the coffin should pass into Delville through the front entrance. All Mr. Westlake's household would have known that the "midnight burial" was taking place. Moreover the coffin should be carried across the grounds to the door in the cemetery wall, and the services of men to carry the coffin would have had to

be requisitioned. The churchyard door key should be procured, and the door unlocked. A grave should be dug, and the sexton consulted. Then, again, it is stated that the Incumbent was "brought out of his bed at the dead of night to perform the burial service," and his household would have been aroused. Four persons only are stated to have been present, two ladies and two men. Mr. Ellis' informant stated that William Dowdall (a devoted follower of Emmet) was one of the men. I have, in Chapter III., referred to Dowdall's escape to France immediately after the effort of 23rd July, 1803. As an instance of the activity of the Government mercenaries in a vain endeavour to capture Dowdall, it is on record that his papers were seized by Major Sirr on the 29th July, 1803. There is really not the slightest evidence forthcoming to show that Dowdall could have been present at the interment of Robert Emmet.

The "midnight burial" in Old Glasnevin Churchyard must only be regarded as a fiction. Even Dr. T. A. Emmet, when writing in 1898, in his "Memoirs of the Emmet family," about his visit with Dr. Madden to Old Glasnevin, had doubts which he scarcely concealed. Dr. Emmet writes thus:—"But it was the opinion of Dr. Madden, *towards the close of his life*, that the body was buried in the Protestant Parish Churchyard of Glasnevin, an opinion which should carry great weight, for certainly no man ever gave the subject closer attention. Shortly before Dr. Madden's death the writer had the good fortune to see him, and to obtain from him many interesting facts. The old gentleman had become quite infirm,

being past eighty years of age, but he kindly came up from his residence near Dublin, to point out the different places connected with the family history. He was first driven out to Glasnevin, without knowing his destination, and on getting out of the carriage at the Church, he did not at first seem to recollect the place. But on entering the Churchyard, leaning on the writer's arm, he became suddenly excited in his manner, and increasing his pace, he started off alone. Passing to the left of the Church, he walked around behind it, and placing his hands on a rough headstone, near the wall, he exclaimed:—'This is Robert Emmet's grave, which Mr. —, the tailor, showed me over fifty years ago.' . . . The Doctor had not visited the spot *since he was taken there by the tailor*, who claimed to have assisted in removing Emmet's body, and digging the grave. *If this be true, it must have been dug directly across the footpath, as is evident from the position of the other graves, and the dates on the nearest tombstones.*" The reader will, perhaps, after a full consideration of the entirely new facts I put before him, come to the conclusion that Dr. Madden's ingenuousness of character left him somewhat open to be deceived. May we not suppose that the tailor was well recompensed for going out to Old Glasnevin, fifty years before? To build a superstructure of belief upon the tailor's narrative, surpasses even the limits of absurdity. The incidents of a "midnight burial," which necessarily would occur in passing through the grounds of Delville, the tailor wisely left unmentioned. As we see by Dr. T. A. Emmet's remark, it was only towards the close of Dr.

Madden's life he formed the erroneous opinion that Emmet was interred in Old Glasnevin ; and we may reasonably assume, therefore, that at the time the tailor told his story, fifty years before, Dr. Madden himself placed no reliance upon it. So much for the loquacious tailor, and the alluring story of the "midnight burial" in Old Glasnevin.

CHAPTER XI.

I SHALL now deal with the claims of St. Michan's Graveyard, Church Street, and in doing so I may mention that an article this year appeared in the "Journal of the Association for the Preservation of the Memorials of the Dead," upon the subject of Emmet's burial-place. The article only seems to need attention, because of its striking disregard for certain fundamental facts, which must, of necessity, be had regard to, no matter where the remains of the patriot lie. I refer to an extraordinary statement in the article for which a shred of proof is not forthcoming, that the large altar-shaped monument near the wall in St. Michan's was an Emmet family monument.

The writer mentions that the present Rector, the Rev. Mr. Long, always told him that the monument belonged to the Emmet family, and further adds, that it is believed the inscription and coat of arms were intentionally removed.

The novelty of a statement of this kind is, perhaps, its most attractive feature, and while we may admire the fertility of the writer's imagination, so much fortified by that of the Rector, we cannot allow ourselves to believe a statement which even our common sense tells us is wholly inaccurate.

The indisputable proofs afforded by the Parochial Record of the interments in *St. Peter's Graveyard, Aungier Street*, of C. T. Emmet, on 9th March, 1788, of Dr. Emmet, on 12th Dec., 1802, and of his wife, on 11th Sept., 1803, enable the reader to come to the conclusion that no more fallacious proposition could be put forward than that there was an Emmet family monument in St. Michan's Churchyard.

It would seem that the assertion of this wholly unfounded claim for St. Michan's, arises from the prejudice unconsciously moving the minds of those believing in St. Michan's, to neutralize the fact which looms out so prominently, that Emmet's father, mother, brother, and sister (Mrs. Holmes) were *all* buried in St. Peter's.

Allowing for whatever groundless beliefs may exist in favour of St. Michan's as against the overwhelming claims of St. Peter's, it can be said without fear of contradiction, that not one of Robert Emmet's relatives were interred in St. Michan's.

The fallacy in the article referred to, is even more glaringly apparent when we realize that, excepting St. Peter's, the only other Churchyard in Dublin where a member of the Emmet family is interred is St. Anne's, Dawson Street. Here Dr. Emmet's mother, who died in Molesworth Street, was interred.

Why, therefore, should we have another fiction garbed with an artificial reality by the imaginative minds of its author and the Rev. Mr. Long, thus published, with some show of responsibility, and as likely to confuse the solemn issue before us as the myth of Old Glasnevin did for years? The state-

ment upon examination proves its own inaccuracy, and I have little doubt the reader will conclude that the story of the monument in St. Michan's, and the removal of the inscription was originally contrived, like that of Old Glasnevin, to establish a claim inherently weak of itself.

The writer of the article, referring to the question of the patriot's resting-place, states, "It would appear that it was believed by some, that he was buried in the Old Churchyard at Glasnevin; but, after a careful and critical inquiry into the whole matter, it was decided by his relatives who made the inquiry, that, beyond any reasonable doubt, he was re-interred in the Churchyard of St. Michan's, at a spot, over which a marble slab has recently been placed with the simple inscription 'Sept. 20th, 1803.' A relative of the family has lately written to me stating that he took a great deal of trouble about the matter, and sifted the evidence, and the conclusion he came to was, that his body was undoubtedly laid in St. Michan's." The writer continues, "In addition to the printed evidence in 'Madden' and other books, I have the evidence of the late Patrick Traynor, bookseller. He said that his aunt or grand-aunt—I forget which—was the wife of the sexton of St. Michan's, and often told him how the sexton had the grave ready in the middle of the night, when the then Rector of the Parish, *who was an intimate and great friend of the Emmets*, arrived with the body; how the work was finished before morning; and how the Rector planted a tree at the head of the grave. Traynor's relative said she lived at the lodge of the Church, and was an eye-witness."

The reader will note that a weak point in this statement is, that it was the Rector of the Parish superintended the alleged re-interment, instead of the Rev. Mr. Gamble, assistant curate of the Parish, who was really the "intimate and great friend of the Emmets." The Rector in 1803 was the Rev. Mr. Ledwich. The wife of the sexton could have hardly made such a mistake, so the story seems not to have been from her at all. Another circumstance of importance is that the alleged grave in St. Michan's is beside the path where signs of an interment would have been visible next day, making it a most unlikely place for selection, if secrecy was requisite.

I am fortunately able to quote from an authority supplied by a member of the Emmet family, to which I have more than once referred, the "Memoirs of the Emmet family," published by Dr. T. A. Emmet of New York. What book ever written about Emmet could have had the family sanction more fully stamped upon it, than Dr. Emmet's rare work, which was, indeed, only intended for limited circulation amongst the family connections and friends? I think, therefore, that after reading the following extract from Dr. Emmet's book, the reader will conclude that the writer of the article I have quoted did not know even the A. B. C. of his case when he wrote of Emmet's burial, that "it was decided by his relatives who made the inquiry that beyond all reasonable doubt he was re-interred in the Churchyard of St. Michan's." Here is what Dr. Emmet, the grand-nephew of the patriot, says: "The fact that Mr. Gamble was the Assistant Curate in St.

Michan's Church, is the only plausible reason which can be advanced *in support of the plea that Robert Emmet was buried there* where a large flat un-inscribed stone is said to cover his grave. If the body could have been gotten into town *it would naturally have been taken to St. Peter's Church, for it was well known that the family had a vault there, and that Robert Emmet's parents had been buried there but a short time before. No good reason can be advanced for a selection of St. Michan's Church with which the family had not the slightest connection. . . .* But the right did exist to bury Robert Emmet at St. Peter's Church in Aungier Street, while an attempt to place the body of a stranger in the other would have needed an explanation."

Dr. T. A. Emmet adds: "As a first step towards settling this mooted question, *it will be necessary to locate and open Dr. Emmet's vault in St. Peter's Church* to determine or not, whether Robert Emmet's body is there. *It is true that so far as is known the family vault had not been open since the remains of his mother were deposited there a few days before her son's death. But with the connivance of the sexton it would have been a matter of but a few moments to have placed the body in the vault, and this could have been done at night without a permit and without attracting attention.*"

The reader will observe from these sagacious observations of Dr. T. A. Emmet, that he had a distinct prepossession in favour of St. Peter's Graveyard. He says the Emmet family "had not the slightest connection" with St. Michan's Churchyard. Mark the

significant words, "*with the connivance of the sexton it would have been a matter of but a few moments to have placed the body in the vault*" in St. Peter's. Observe also that Dr. Emmet says previously, "It is true that, so far as is known, the family vault has not been opened since the remains of his mother were interred a few days before her son's death."

It cannot be doubted that the opportunity of secretly placing the bones of Emmet with his own kith and kin in St. Peter's, was afforded by the admittedly *secret* burial of Mrs. Holmes. One of the strongest indications that it was availed of, consists in the deliberate omission to record her interment. What helps to give the omission a real significance is the weighty fact that the interments of the other members of the Emmet family in St. Peter's were all carefully recorded. The social status of Mrs. Holmes convinces us that ordinarily her interment should have been recorded by the clergyman of the parish, who attended her obsequies, but for some specially significant reason. The suppression of the record of Mrs. Holmes' *secret* interment in St. Peter's is, therefore, of great import, when we have the undoubted fact brought home to our minds, that Robert Emmet's remains were removed about the same time from Bully's Acre. What more fitting opportunity could have offered, than that afforded by the occasion of Mrs. Holmes' interment, to reverently place the patriot's remains in the family grave. The sexton, too, whom Dr. T. A. Emmet seems to have had in his mind, what manner of man was he? Could it be said of him—

“ See yonder maker of the dead man’s bed,
 The sexton, hoary headed chronicle,
 Of hard unfeeling face,
 Down which never rolled a gentle tear?”

Do what we may, we cannot discard, from our minds the belief that a solemn duty lay upon Robert Holmes as the executor of the Will of Robert Emmet’s father, and as a man, to carry out the last wishes of the patriot. The responsibility upon Holmes may be said to have become the greater, because of the fact, that Robert Emmet would have been entitled, had he lived, to half of the residue of his father’s estate. This being so, surely Holmes may be said of all men to be the man who would have sanctioned, if he did not direct, the *secret interment* of Robert Emmet in the family grave. Have we, at length, found the long sought for clue which points out the grave in St. Peter’s, as the spot where well nigh one hundred years ago the bones of the immortal Emmet were silently laid? We now know from Robert Holmes’ nobility of character, that it was not in his nature to forget the performance of any duty imposed upon him. I once more ask whether Dr. Gamble, the assistant curate of St. Michan’s, would have dared to disturb the bones of the patriot in Bully’s Acre, without the consent of his relatives? Surely we cannot conclude that it was mere caprice or a desire to add to the interest admittedly attaching to St. Michan’s Churchyard, inspired this clergyman to exhume the patriot’s remains? An interment in St. Michan’s would have been justified only by the expressed wish of Emmet

himself, and that wish would not seem to be in conformity with the deep affection he had for his parents, evidenced by the memorable reference to his father in his immortal speech, and his stating to his traitorous counsel, M'Nally, on the morning of the 20th Sept., 1803, that he hoped to see his mother in heaven.

May we not now feel certain, considering the new evidence brought before the reader, that the remains of the immortal Robert Emmet were laid in the family grave in St. Peter's, and that the reason why his brother-in-law, the impenetrable Robert Holmes, gave no direction to be interred with the wife of his bosom, when he died fifty-five years afterwards, was because of his desire that the family grave should be unknown, and the epitaph of the patriot unwritten, "until other times and other men" could do justice to his memory?

THE END.



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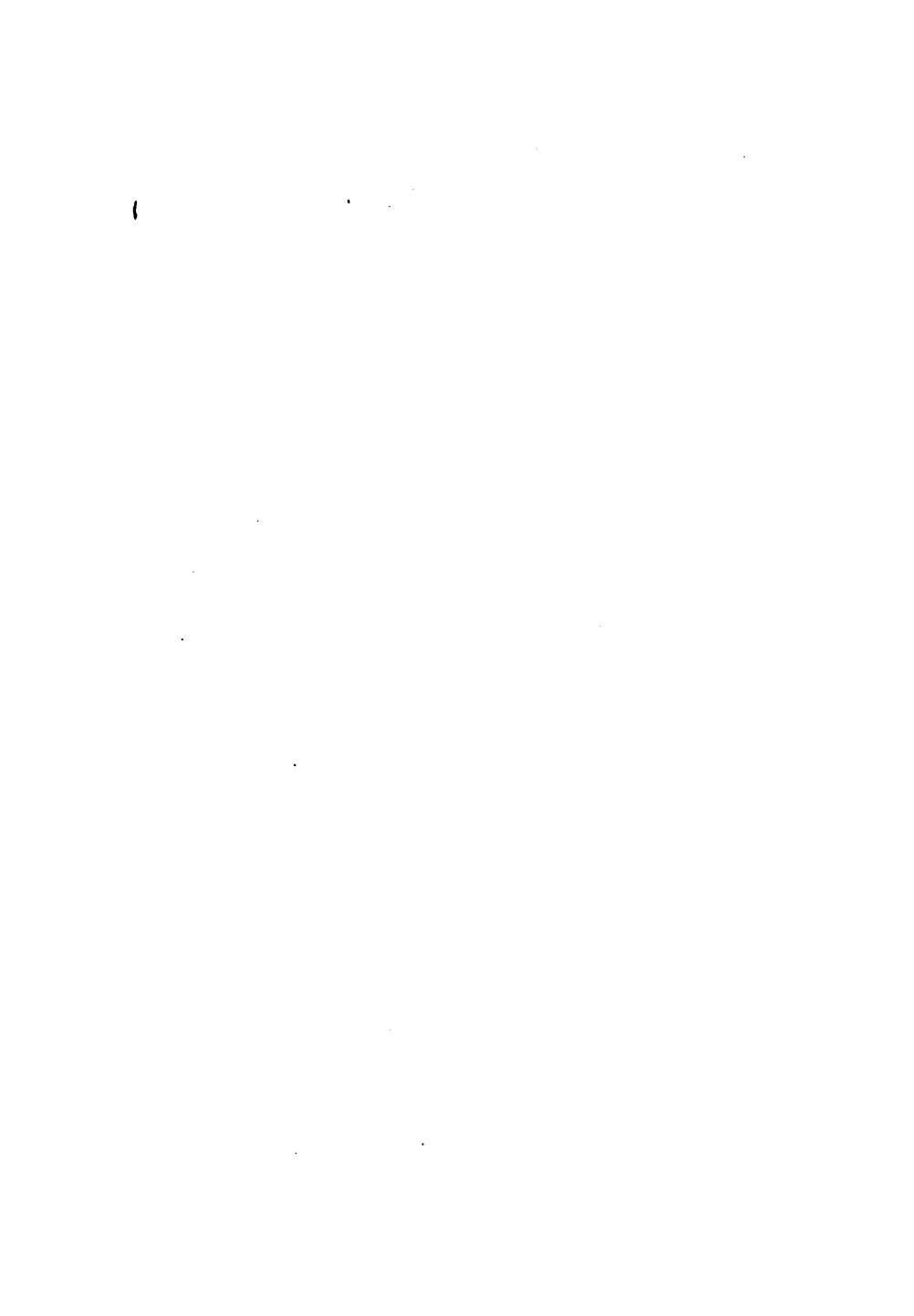
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